The CRISIS

Vol. 21—No. 4 FEBRUARY, 1921 Whole No. 124

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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; JESSIE REDMON FAUSET, LITERARY EDITOR; AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER.

Vol. 21—No. 4 **FEBRUARY, 1921** **Whole No. 124**

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 21. No. 4 FEBRUARY, 1921 Whole No. 124

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

"Not those who inflict most, but those who suffer most are the conquerors."

TERRENCE MCSWINEY.

REDUCED REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

FRIENDS of Democracy and especially friends of over ten million disfranchised persons —white and black—in the South, are called upon today for clear thinking and a knowledge of the facts.

This nation is putting a *premium* upon oligarchy and a *penalty* upon democracy.

The states *can* and *do* control the conditions under which a citizen may or may not vote. By the 15th and 19th Amendments there are only two checks on their power: They cannot legally disfranchise men for *race* or for *sex*. They cannot say that a Negro or a woman cannot vote.

But—and this fact is often slurred or forgotten—the states *can* and legally *do* restrict the suffrage for *other* reasons, such as length of residence, previous registration, ability to read and write, possession of property, etc.

Moreover, states can easily disfranchise a whole group by choosing certain characteristics or disabilities of the group: Negroes as a mass are poor and ignorant; a property and literacy qualification will therefore disfranchise a large number of them; women are occupied in homes for the most part and not in the so-called "gainful occupations". A restriction of voting to those in such occupations would be undoubtedly legal and would disfranchise 75% of the women.

Hitherto democracy in the United States has assumed that self interest would keep the number of voters *as large as possible* in the various states. This assumption has *failed* in two respects: It has kept *women* from voting for more than a century and it has kept *Negroes* in the South from voting during the better part of a generation.

This in itself is bad enough, but the situation is worse when we consider that *we have made it distinctly to the advantage of oligarchical rule to disfranchise just as many voters as possible* and to do this by legal enactment or by force or public opinion, by economic pressure or by sneering at the efficacy of democratic government. How far this has gone an article in this number of THE CRISIS shows.

We have at present only *one* legal remedy and that lies in the Fourteenth Amendment. Many persons, and especially Negroes, assume that the enforcement of the section of the second section of the 14th Amendment would make the disfranchisement of Negroes legal. *This is absolutely untrue.* As long as the 15th Amendment stands, it is absolutely illegal to disfranchise a person because of "race, color or previous condition of servitude". But it is absolutely legal to disfranchise persons for any number of other reasons. Indeed a state might legally disfranchise a person for having red hair.

But here the 14th Amendment steps in and says: "But when the right to vote at any election . . . is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state (being 21 years of age and

citizens of the United States) or in any way abridged . . . the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in ... proportion ..." In other words, if for any *legal* reason a state disfranchises its citizens then the representation of that state in Congress must be proportionately reduced.

The Constitution does not attempt to say that the state may not have perfectly good moral ground for such disfranchisement. In sheer self defense it may be proper, temporarily, for a state to disfranchise the ignorant. It might even defend itself, under a just economic system, in disfranchising the poor. But whatever its motives or justification a *state can disfranchise its citizens for any reason except race and sex.* But if it *does* it is liable to have its representation in Congress reduced, and indeed if it believes in democratic government it ought to be willing and eager for such reduction.

By assenting to such reduction it simply says to its fellow citizens throughout the United States: "We, the voters of South Carolina, do not wish to wield any more political power, man for man, than you voters of North Dakota; and therefore because we have disfranchised most of our adult citizens on account of our wretched public school system and unjust industrial organization, we ask to have our political power curtailed until we can educate our citizens and make a more decent distribution of wealth."

But if this assent is due from South Carolina, how much more is a demand called for from the disfranchised Negroes? They have simply to choose between two alternatives: *to be temporarily unrepresented in Congress or to be perpetually represented by their active and militant enemies.* If they are unrepresented, this lack of representation is not and cannot be on account of their race and color so long as the 15th Amendment stands. It is simply on account of other qualifications or on account of the unfair administration of the law. If the other qualifications are *reasonable* it is only a matter of time when Negroes will meet them and have their representation restored automatically. If they are disfranchised by *unreasonable* qualifications or by the *unfair administration of the law*, they can continue to attack these in the courts and before the public opinion of the nation and the world, *and during this fight their enemies will be disarmed of their undue political power* and influence. In such case they cannot in the long run fail to triumph.

There is absolutely no valid argument against this policy or cause for hesitation. The overwhelming political power of the South, whereby 10,000 voters in Mississippi wield as much political power as 97,000 voters in Indiana, must be changed. The legal remedy is at hand and involves no jot or tittle of surrender of any right or hope of the American Negro. To hesitate is to give to that section of the United States where mobs, lynching, ignorance and murder flourish, *four times* the political power exercised by the intelligence, thrift, and law-abiding devotion to democracy in the rest of the land.

A QUESTION OF FACTS

THE December number of THE CRISIS said in regard to Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, delegate, and Dr. Mary F. Waring, alternate, attending the International Council of Women at Christiania: "At the American Y. W. C. A. in Paris, where the party arrived late in the morning after an all night ride, all the white delegates were welcomed and accommodated while the colored delegates were even refused breakfast."

These facts have been denied. First, a sweeping denial was made by the National Office of the Y. W. C. A. in New York at a conference with colored women. Afterward a modification of this denial was furnished certain newspapers and correspondents,

stating that only a part of the delegation was accommodated at the Paris Y. W. C. A. and that hotel accommodation elsewhere was secured for the others including the colored delegates; that Mrs. Talbert's attitude was objectionable; that the other colored delegates were satisfied with their treatment; and that the colored women did not attend the social functions of the party.

We have published the brief statement given us by Mrs. Talbert. We now adduce two further witnesses. Mrs. Talbert's party consisted of herself, her daughter, and Dr. Mary F. Waring, of Chicago. Dr. Waring, who looks like a white woman, was given her registration card to stop at the Y. W. C. A. and went into the dining-room. When Mrs. Talbert, who has a good brown face, started to follow, she was refused entrance. Dr. Waring, in a personal letter to Mrs. Talbert, continues the story as follows:

"Thinking they were honest and truthful in their statement, 'arrangements have been made for you at another hotel,' you asked, 'Are we the only ones whom arrangements have been made for?' To which she, Miss Dunn, made an evasive answer. Mrs. Keelan (Mrs. Talbert's daughter) and I joined you, and a boy was called who took us across the street, two or three blocks further down. There we were told that they were full (this was a French hotel), and that the Y. W. C. A. had not even asked for any reservation, nor had any agent for the American party. You asked the proprietor if we could be served coffee. It was near 11 A. M. and we had been riding all night, coming from Geneva, Switzerland, without even a drink of water; he replied that they were through serving until dinner. We returned to the Y. W. C. A., hungry, humiliated and tired, for it was very warm (August 30). We were then told by Miss Dunn again that we could not possibly be accommodated. You protested at such treatment from a Christian association, when we found out that every woman was taken care of there, except those who refused to stay by choice. Those of the party not accommodated included the 8 white men and 3 colored women.

"Mrs. Moore and her daughter had been in Paris over a week. They had not wished to stop there. Mrs. Harris, the Vice-President, had also been in Paris for some time and she did not wish to stop there. Not one woman member of the party was turned away, except the 3 colored women. The Y. W. C. A. could shelter all but the men and these three. Miss Dunn was not inclined to compromise, but told us very plainly that we could not stop there. Mrs. Merriman [a white woman, Secretary of the National Council of Women] took her aside and talked very plainly to her and by this time you spoke of them even refusing you a cup of coffee. If they assert that anyone (even Mississippi and Kentucky were mute) objected to our eating, they tell an unmitigated lie. The Y. W. C. A. secretary told one of the members of our party that it was against the policy of the American Woman's Club to accommodate colored people.

"You then went to the street and called Mr. Gray (the travelling agent), asking him where Mrs. Moore was stopping. You hired a taxi, and we were driven over there, to a superior hotel, the Avenida, where we received the most cordial treatment. We made our own arrangements with the proprietor. The treatment of the colored people by the Y. W. C. A. is exactly along the lines of their branches in America."

Finally we conclude this testimony with the following letter:

"Dear Miss Ovington: In answer to your inquiry concerning the reception and treatment accorded Mrs. Mary B. Talbert durin our recent trip abroad I am glad to make the following statement.

"I was chairman of the party including the delegates and guests who toured Europe and attended the convention of the International Council of Women at Christiania, Norway, during 1920. In this capacity I was with the party every moment from the time we left the port of New York until we landed on our return voyage; therefore I am cognizant of all happenings and actions that might effect the party as a whole or groups thereof.

"Upon our arrival in Paris the entire party was taken to the American Woman's Club, or Hotel Petrograd, which was operated by the Y. W. C. A. They had not room to accommodate the entire party so arrangements were made elsewhere for some of the officers and delegates which included the three Negro members. Before leaving for our other hotels we decided to have breakfast at the Petrograd as it was very late. When Mrs. Talbert, one of our delegates and the President of the National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, started to pass with others through the door into the dining-room, the secretary placed her hand gently on Mrs. Talbert's shoulder and said: 'You cannot go in there.' Mrs. Talbert replied: 'I just want to get a cup of coffee.' The secretary still refused her admission. Mrs. Talbert turned to me with big tears rolling down her cheeks and asked me to tell the secretary that she was an accredited delegate

and entitled to admission. I did so and was informed that they could not allow colored women in the dining-room. Dr. Mary F. Waring, of Chicago, who was the alternate for Mrs. Talbert, was already in the dining-room eating. I drew the secretary's attention to this fact. Dr. Waring was so nearly white that they allowed her to pass, not recognizing that she belonged to the colored race. They then decided to allow Mrs. Talbert and her daughter to go in and have a cup of coffee.

"I did not see or hear Mrs. Talbert at any time do or say anything rude or unladylike; on the contrary, her conduct throughout the entire period of three months was above reproach. Exclusive of this incident in Paris, Mrs. Talbert was shown every courtesy accorded any other officer or delegate by all the countries and peoples in Europe. She was one of the five American women chosen to speak to and present a resolution at the International Convention. She was invited to attend every social function that other delegates were invited to, with the exception of the 'Tea' at the Y. W. C. A. in Paris. At the formal state luncheon given by Lady Aberdeen at Haddo Castle, she sat by invitation at the right hand of Her Grace. Mrs. Talbert was present at the farewell banquet at the Hotel Commodore before the party sailed. As toast mistress of the evening I introduced her and she responded in behalf of her people and their work. She received an ovation at this time more pronounced than the majority of the speakers. Mrs. Talbert at all times proved herself a credit to her people and they may well be proud of her as their representative on a tour which was epochal in the history of womankind.

"Trusting that this covers all the points mentioned in our conversation and that I may have the privilege of meeting you again, I am, Cordially,

(Signed) MYRA VIRGINIA MERRIMAN,
Corresponding Secretary, National Council of Women, Chairman of Tour."

PHONOGRAPH RECORDS

WE have good authority for stating that 65% of the phonograph records made for the Southern trade by a well-known company are sold to colored people. Nevertheless, this company employs only one colored artist regularly and only occasionally a colored orchestra or quartet. All these musicians are confined strictly to a certain class of music and on no account are they allowed to attempt anything else, no matter what their gifts or ability.

This company, however, is much more liberal than most phonograph companies. They have thousands of white singers under contract and pay them hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, and yet no colored singer may apply even for their Negro music.

Here is a tremendous field. We have some of the finest voices in the world right here in Negro America. Within the past few months one of the smaller, newer phonograph companies experimented by having a colored girl sing "Blues". The experiment was so successful and the demand for her records among colored folk so great that the company was not able to fill its orders.

They have since signed her to sing for them for two years. Now several other concerns are looking for a colored "Blues" singer, but they make it particularly plain that no others need apply.

Artists like Roland Hayes have gone in vain to the great phonograph companies. One of them offered to let him do "comic darky songs" but nothing else; while men with much inferior voices are allowed daily to sing the finest music and to debase and ridicule the Negro folk song.

Under such discrimination there is but one solution. We have already throughout the land developed a Negro audience to appreciate and pay a dozen or more Negro artists. We have a commendable and growing National Association of Negro Musicians. We must now develop a business organization to preserve and record our best voices; we ought to have records of Burleigh, Hayes, Talbert, Anderson, Johnson, Harrison, Hagan, Dett, Diton and a dozen others to reveal the best music, not only of their own race but of all races and ages.

We are pleased to learn that such a company is now forming with adequate capital and skilled management of guaranteed integrity.

A PAGEANT OF PROGRESS

T. J. CALLOWAY

A SHORT story writer makes one of his amiable characters conclude with the confession that in his efforts to dispense the milk of human kindness he had made it a policy to skim some real cream for his own breakfast. The Negroes of Washington City have been skimming some real cream in the last ten years, but particularly in the last two years since the World War. Taking only the larger investments the following list is amazing:

Industrial Savings Bank	$ 30,000
Whitelaw Hotel	250,000
Southern Aid Building	125,000
Standard Investment Company	120,000
S. H. Dudley Apartment	40,000
John R. Hawkins Apartment	40,000
Y. W. C. A. Building	225,000
Supreme Order of Helpers	23,000
Murray Brothers' Casino	50,000
Luray Apartment	20,000
Thrift Commercial Company (4 Buildings)	$ 42,000
Dr. Carson's Private Hospital	20,000
Douglass Coöperative League	25,000
Homeland Apartment	25,000
Exeter Apartment	25,000
Mu-So-Lit Club House	15,000
Tau Delta Sigma Club House	10,000
Universal Heights Land Company	60,000
Clef Club House	15,000
Site for Douglass Theatre	75,000
Estimated Cost of Douglass Theatre ($300,000)	
	$1,235,000

Striking as these figures are, it would be more eloquent to have a tabulation of the private homes that have been purchased, as real estate men agree that the home buying has exceeded the total of the larger properties referred to; so that we may safe-

THE PROPOSED DOUGLASS THEATRE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

ly estimate that $3,000,000 of real estate has passed into the control of colored people within recent times.

The World War was followed in Washington by an aftermath of race riots in 1918. These riots resulted from what appeared to be a conspiracy of the daily newspapers to charge the colored people with a wave of criminal assaults upon women. Flaring headlines telling of "Negro Brutes Assaulting White Women" finally came to the point where one daily actually announced that white men would gather at a certain stated rendezvous to take the law into their own hands. At this signal white ruffians did gather and set out to invade the colored section. Then a miracle happened. Colored men came together with arms, machine-guns, rifles, pistols, every sort of weapon, and the white mob was met with its own species of lawlessness. Casualties were on both sides, but the Negro section was saved from what might have been a holocaust. The heroes were ex-service men and plain folks who had not been regarded as leaders. The lesson learned was that if Negroes are to survive, they must join hands. The results appear in the figures of property bought and the general spirit of coöperation.

To visualize the foregoing generalizations, let us anticipate the completion of the Douglass Theatre, for which a beautiful site has been purchased comprising five properties, 1333 to 1341 U Street, N. W., the actual construction of which is to begin March 5 by the Dudley-Murray Corporation. Let us suppose that the program is a historical pageant representing ten years of business and commercial development in Washington City. The 1800 seats are filled from pit to galleries with an audience, a large proportion of whom are stockholder-patrons of the theatre.

The first scene shows Washington interested mainly in social life, no confidence in race organization, due to the failure of a savings bank and a large beneficial organization. Into this scene walks John W. Lewis, a hod carrier, having actually tramped to Washington with "Coxey's Army". Lewis calls together fellow laborers and persuades them to organize the Laborers' and Mechanics' Realty Company and to deposit in its treasury their weekly savings. They buy ground and with their own hands erect a four-apartment building on Eleventh Street near U Street, then the Hiawatha Theatre next door, and later the Industrial Savings Bank on the corner, and finally the Whitelaw Hotel two squares away. Leading actors in this scene are William A. Bowie, cashier of the bank, and Isaiah T. Hatton, architect and building supervisor.

The second scene opens with Dr. W. L. Board's drug store on Fourteenth Street near U Street. The warm evening has brought patrons who are being politely served with their prescriptions and confections. Then follows a meeting of the Colored Druggists' Association, representing twenty-seven stores. The discussion of the evening is on how the small drug store can meet competition of the syndicate drug stores' advertising of cut rates. A plan is adopted to pool the purchasing power of the individual stores and get the savings of a combined buying power. The result is that the twenty-seven members have been able to meet competition and prosper.

In scene three the real estate men appear in a hurdle race. Long time renters awake to find the homes they have paid for in rent receipts being sold to new owners who evict them. Landlords decide that the advanced prices in real estate offer propitious time to sell. Deans McKinley and Walker find the race contested by Holland who swung the Southern Aid and the Douglass Theatre deals, by Harris who came from the rear and put over a number of big deals, by DeVeille who made a record on small properties and by Scott, Cuney, Flagg, Clarke, Davidson, Mitchell and other dark horses. As the race rounds the third quarter, hundreds of people are in homes bought at high prices but on which they have paid $500 to $1500 or more.

Scene four is a conference of insurance men. Rutherford of the National Benefit Society, Bond of the Standard Life, Jordan of the Southern Aid, and Spaulding of the North Carolina Mutual compare notes and discover that Washington is woefully underinsured. The Southern Aid erects a fine four-story office building to include the Dunbar Theatre, the Standard Life writes many thousands of life insurance, the National Benefit greatly increases its business, and the North Carolina Mutual grows in patronage. The payments of death policies provide capital for buying homes and investments in business enterprises.

Scene five shows the boys returning from the army, inoculated with the French spirit

JOHN W LEWIS

S. H. DUDLEY

of Equality, Liberty and Fraternity. To "make the world safe for democracy" is more than a fine phrase to these boys who no longer hold death as the worst of evils. Business men find them serious, ambitious and dependable. They enter business and apply to themselves the hard discipline of the army. Enterprises too numerous to catalogue here are opened and made to succeed. The Hamilton Bros. open a printing office, the Cliffords organize a film company, Ratley and others organize a building and loan company, Curley opens a notion house, Howe runs a pool-room. Bake-shops, shoe-shine shops, taxi service, cafés, dyeing and cleaning shops, etc., are but examples of these men's vision to make their way to the first table in the great business exchange.

The last scene represents the story of the Douglass Theatre. F. Morris Murray and his two brothers have entered Washington eighteen years ago as printers, with a little shop. In 1908 they with others opened a little 75-seat moving-picture house at 1217 U Street, N. W., because no moving-picture theatre conducted by white men would admit colored patrons. They struggle along and grow from that small beginning to the ownership of the Hiawatha, Foraker and Dunbar Theatres in which they are heartily supported.

S. H. Dudley, who began his life as a showman when twelve years old and who has entertained audiences in every part of the country, finally settles in Washington where he acquires the S. H. Dudley and Mid-City Theatres and the Dudley Theatre in Petersburg, Va. Dudley and the Murrays discover the need for a first class theatre and decide to join hands and supply it. William A. Bowie, Isaiah T. Hatton and others join them and the Dudley-Murray United Theatre Corporation is incorporated for $500,000 and the stock is being sold to future patrons at $12.50 per share. Negro architects, mechanics and laborers construct the buildings and the curtain closes on the completed structure built by Negro capital, managed and owned by Negroes.

Every man, woman and child who has witnessed this pageant leaves feeling the self-respect, the enthusiasm and pride of participating in the new era.

THE ELECTION AND DEMOCRACY

W. E. B. Du Bois

IN 1920, for the first time in twenty years, a presidential election has coincided with the decennial census. This gives us a chance to examine with some care the actual working of democracy in the United States. Unfortunately, however, while the election is still fresh in our imagination, it will probably be six months or more before all the necessary census figures are published.

Nevertheless a preliminary study, based partially on estimates, will have some value. We know definitely the total population by states and the number of votes cast. We have a proposed apportionment of representatives which will probably be enacted into law without essential change. We need to know the voting population and this we can only estimate. From these data Table A has been prepared.

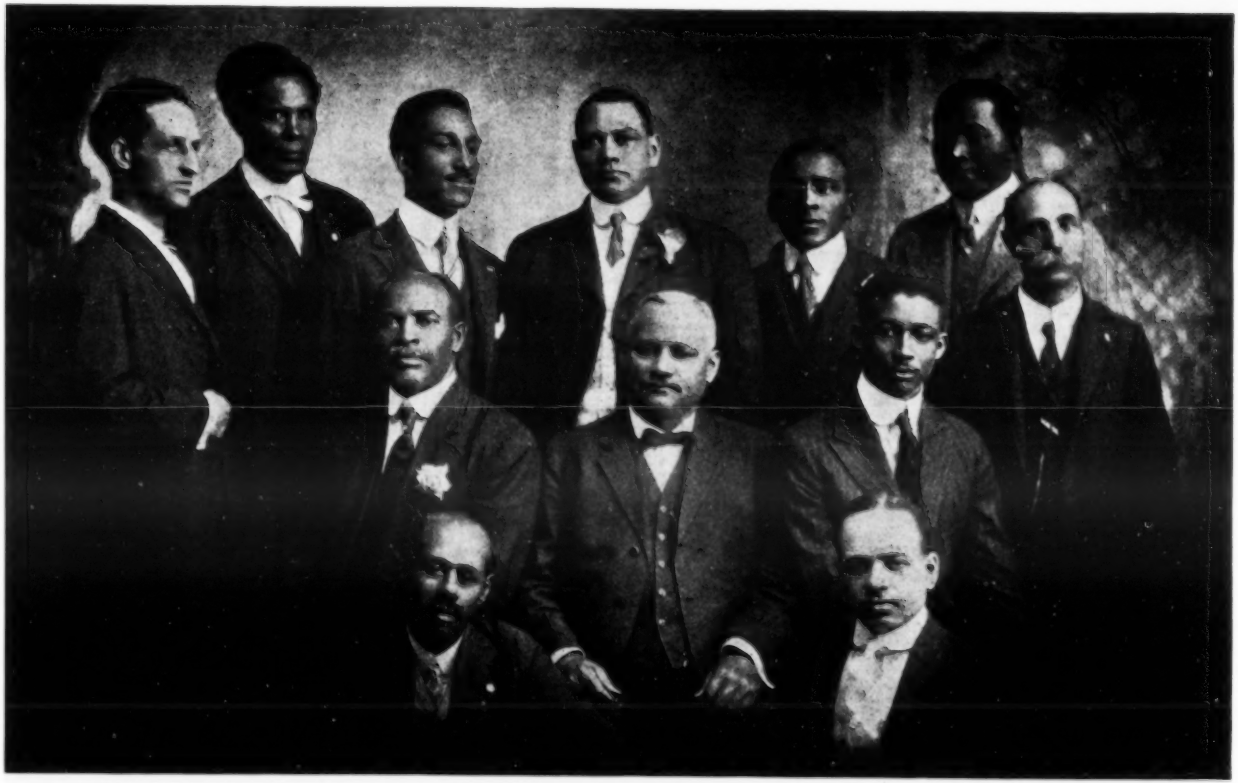
A study of this table leads us to conclude that democracy in the United States even in the basic matter of popular voting is failing to function properly. We may, in fact, by rearranging the states note certain astonishing differences. (Table B.)

THE ELECTION OF 1920 (TABLE A)

Alabama	2,348,174	1,305,334	241,070	18.4	10.	11	21,915
Arizona	333,903	162,382	66,562	41.	19.	2	33,281
Arkansas	1,752,204	972,711	183,637	18.8	10.	8	22,955
California	3,426,861	1,625,826	943,463	58.	27.	16	58,966
Colorado	939,629	461,399	352,237	76.4	37.	4	88,059
Connecticut	1,380,631	608,166	365,523	60.1	26.	6	60,921
Delaware	223,003	123,882	94,756	82.4	42.5	1	94,756
District of Columbia	411,571						
Florida	968,470	522,027	149,397	28.6	15.	4	37,349
Georgia	2,895,832	1,613,927	148,716	9.2	5.1	13	11,432
Idaho	431,866	220,555	135,592	61.3	31.	2	67,796
Illinois	6,485,280	3,029,099	2,094,702	69.1	30.	29	72,231
Indiana	2,930,390	1,561,187	1,262,964	80.9	43.	13	97,151
Iowa	2,404,021	1,209,369	895,076	74.	37.	11	81,371
Kansas	1,769,257	923,058	570,152	61.7	32.	8	71,269
Kentucky	2,416,630	1,333,231	912,978	68.4	37.	11	82,998
Louisiana	1,798,509	980,782	117,084	11.9	6.3	8	14,636
Maine	768,014	374,806	197,845	52.7	25.	4	49,461
Maryland	1,449,661	759,338	428,442	56.4	28.	7	61,206
Massachusetts	3,852,356	2,157,819	993,694	46.	25.	18	55,205
Michigan	3,668,412	1,755,535	1,047,819	58.9	28.	17	61,636
Minnesota	2,387,125	1,064,993	735,838	69.	30.	11	66,894
Mississippi	1,790,618	997,861	82,492	8.2	4.6	8	10,311
Missouri	3,404,055	1,891,381	1,332,800	70.4	39.	16	83,300
Montana	548,889	260,021	179,006	68.8	30.	3	59,668
Nebraska	1,296,372	637,637	475,153	74.4	36.	6	79,192
Nevada	77,407	33,502	27,093	79.6	35.	1	27,093
New Hampshire	443,083	199,793	159,092	79.5	35.	2	79,546
New Jersey	3,155,900	1,436,910	903,943	62.8	28.	14	64,567
New Mexico	360,350	190,223	104,305	54.9	28.	1	104,305
New York	10,384,829	4,441,499	2,882,590	64.9	27.	47	61,332
North Carolina	2,559,123	1,430,062	548,741	38.3	21.	12	45,728
North Dakota	645,680	283,253	200,778	70.9	31.	3	66,926
Ohio	5,759,394	2,926,073	2,019,166	69.	31.	26	77,660
Oklahoma	2,028,283	1,115,617	486,405	43.5	23.	9	54,046
Oregon	783,389	382,124	238,572	62.4	30.	4	59,643
Pennsylvania	8,720,017	4,162,022	1,851,248	44.5	21.2	40	46,281
Rhode Island	604,397	248,892	167,987	67.4	27.	3	55,996
South Carolina	1,683,724	939,800	66,150	7.	3.9	8	8,269
South Dakota	636,547	306,081	181,747	59.3	28.	3	60,582
Tennessee	2,337,885	1,299,912	426,392	32.7	18.	11	38,763
Texas	4,663,228	2,490,438	441,037	17.7	9.2	21	21,001
Utah	449,396	218,751	193,497	88.3	43.	2	96,748
Vermont	352,428	172,399	89,905	52.2	25.	2	44,953
Virginia	2,309,187	1,279,616	231,029	18.	10.	11	21,003
Washington	1,356,621	631,387	394,195	62.3	35.	6	65,700
West Virginia	1,463,701	791,063	509,942	64.4	34.	7	72,849
Wisconsin	2,632,067	1,267,525	701,301	55.3	26.	12	58,442
Wyoming	194,402	94,355	53,120	56.5	27.	1	53,120
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

EXPLANATION OF TABLE A

Column number 1 is the list of States. *Column number 2* is the total population according to the census of 1920. *Column number 3* is the estimated voting population, derived by taking 56 per cent of the total population and subtracting therefrom 50 per cent of the foreign born, the latter being the estimated proportion of the unnaturalized foreign adults. *Column number 4* is the number of votes cast in the presidential election of 1920. *Column number 5* is the percentage of the voting population which actually voted. *Column number 6* is the percentage of the total population which actually voted. *Column number 7* is the number of representatives apportioned to each State in the 67th Congress, according to the proposed bill of the Republican caucus. *Column number 8* is the number of actual voters per representative in the proposed apportionment.



COLORED MEMBERS OF THE BAR, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS. (In the center, Scipio A. Jones, Attorney for the Arkansas Defendants.)

TABLE B

Column number 1 is the number of votes cast per representative in the 67th Congress. *Column number 2* is the per cent of voters voting. *Column number 3* is the per cent of total population voting.

1		2		3	
S. C.	8,269	S. C.	7.	S. C.	3.9
Miss.	10,311	Miss.	8.2	Miss.	4.6
Ga.	11,439	Ga.	9.2	Ga.	5.1
La.	14,636	La.	11.9	La.	6.3
Texas	21,001	Texas	17.7	Texas	9.2
Va.	21,003	Va.	18.	Ala.	10.
Ala.	21,915	Ala.	18.4	Ark.	10.
Ark.	22,955	Ark.	18.8	Va.	10.
Nev.	27,093	Fla.	28.6	Fla.	15.
Ariz.	33,281	Tenn.	32.7	Tenn.	18.
Fla.	37,349	N. C.	38.3	Ariz.	19.
Tenn.	38,763	Ariz.	41.	N. C.	21.
Vt.	44,953	Okla.	43.5	Pa.	21.2
N. C.	45,728	Pa.	44.5	Okla.	23.
Pa.	46,281	Mass.	46.	Me.	25.
Me.	49,461	Vt.	52.2	Mass.	25.
Wyo.	53,120	Me.	52.7	Vt.	25.
Okla.	54,046	N. Mex.	54.9	Conn.	26.
Mass.	55,205	Wis.	55.3	Wis.	26.
R. I.	55,996	Md.	56.4	Cal.	27.
Wis.	58,442	Wyo.	56.5	N. Y.	27.
Cal.	58,966	Cal.	58.	R. I.	27.
Ore.	59,643	Mich.	58.9	Wyo.	27.
Mont.	59,668	S. Dak.	59.3	Md.	28.
S. Dak.	60,582	Conn.	60.1	Mich.	28.
Conn.	60,921	Idaho	61.3	N. J.	28.
Md.	61,206	Kan.	61.7	N. Mex.	28.
N. Y.	61,332	Wash.	62.3	S. Dak.	28.
Mich.	61,636	Ore.	62.4	Ill.	30.
N. J.	64,567	N. J.	62.8	Minn.	30.
Wash.	65,700	W. Va.	64.4	Mont.	30.
N. Dak.	66,926	N. Y.	64.9	Ore.	30.
Minn.	66,894	R. I.	67.4	Idaho	31.
Idaho	67,796	Ky.	68.4	N. Dak.	31.
Kan.	71,269	Mont.	68.8	Ohio	31.
Ill.	72,231	Ohio	69.	Kan.	32.
W. Va.	72,849	Minn.	69.	W. Va.	34.
Ohio	77,660	Ill.	69.1	Nev.	35.
Neb.	79,192	Mo.	70.4	N. H.	35.
N. H.	79,546	N. Dak.	70.9	Wash.	35.
Iowa	81,371	Iowa	74.	Neb.	36.
Ky.	82,998	Neb.	74.4	Colo.	37.
Mo.	83,300	Colo.	76.4	Iowa	37.
Colo.	88,059	N. H.	79.5	Ky.	37.
Del.	94,756	Nev.	79.6	Mo.	39.
Utah	96,748	Ind.	80.9	Del.	42.5
Ind.	97,151	Del.	82.4	Ind.	43.
N. Mex.	104,305	Utah	88.3	Utah	43.

Two main divisions immediately appear: one where the number of voters in proportion to the representatives in Congress apportioned is less than 50,000; where less than 50 per cent. of the total voters actually vote, and where less than 25 per cent. of the population vote; and another division where there are from 50,000 to 100,000 votes as compared with the representatives apportioned; where from one-half to 90 per cent. of the possible voters vote, and where from 26 to 47 per cent. of the total population vote.

These criteria do not make quite the same divisions and on account of the approximate nature of our figures we can not explain all the discrepancies.[1] However, states with one representative, like Nevada, Wyoming, Delaware, New Mexico, can not be judged by the number of voters as compared with the representative apportionment for obvious reasons. Pennsylvania and Massachusetts have evidently a large foreign population which is both voluntarily and involuntarily disfranchised.

Of the main differences, however, as evidenced by the two ends of the scale there can be no question. If, therefore, we group the states as follows[2] we get Table C.

In the United States we have three approximations to democracy. The great Middle West and the South West are states where 70 per cent. of the total voters vote, and

TABLE C

1—Divisions	2—Total Population, 1920	3—Approximate Voting Population	4—Votes Cast, 1920	Percentage of 5—Population Voting	Percentage of 6—Voters Voting	7—Actual Number Disfranchised	8—Percentage of Voters Disfranchised	9—Number of Representatives, 67th Congress	10—Population per Each Representative in Congress	11—Actual Voters per Each Representative in Congress
New England	7,400,909	3,761,375	1,893,033	25.5	50.3	1,868,342	49.7	35	211,455	54,087
Middle Atlantic	22,260,746	10,040,431	5,639,384	25.3	56.2	4,401,047	43.8	101	160,997	55,836
Border States	13,300,218	7,293,797	4,191,715	31.5	57.4	3,102,082	42.6	62	214,520	67,608
Southwest	2,160,685	1,066,257	743,694	34.5	70.	317,522	30.	10	215,169	74,369
Pacific & Northwest	6,742,028	3,214,468	1,943,948	28.8	60.4	1,370,520	39.6	32	210,688	60,748
Middle West	30,614,545	14,964,070	10,184,696	33.2	68.	4,780,374	32.	139	220,249	73,272
South	22,769,069	12,532,558	2,209,353	9.7	17.6	10,323,205	82.4	104	218,933	21,248

1. In 1910, fifty-six per cent of the population of the United States was 21 years of age and over. By taking 56 per cent of the population of each State we get a rough approximation of its potential voters. From this we must subtract the unnaturalized foreign adults who formed in 1910 about half the adult foreign population. The resulting figures have a considerable margin of error, but they can be used at present and checked up when the census figures of 1920 appear.

2. This grouping is not the conventional one, but is dictated by the facts. Even here North Carolina belongs rather with the Border States than with the South:

New England includes Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut: *Middle Atlantic*—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania; *Border States*—Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Oklahoma;

(The relative political power of the sections as calculated from the above figures is: 1 = 7¼; 2 = 5½; 3 = 6½; 4 = 6½; 5 = 6; 6 = 19.)

voters form one-third of the whole population. About 30 per cent. of the apparent voting population was disfranchised at the last election mostly, we can probably say, by voluntary abstention. The apportionment of a representative in Congress in this part of the United States calls for nearly 75,000 voters.

In contrast to this notice the South. Here with a total population of nearly 23,000,000

Southwest—Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Nevada; *Pacific* and *Northwest*—Washington, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Wyoming, California; *Middle West*—North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio; *South*—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas.

and a probable voting population of nearly thirteen million there were in 1920 less than two and a half million votes cast. Less than 10 per cent. of the total population vote and of the men and women 21 years of age about 18 per cent. vote. We have the astonishing total of ten and one-third millions of possible voters disfranchised, or 82.4 per cent!

Notwithstanding this the Southern portion of the Union will receive 104 representatives in the 67th Congress, thus requiring only 21,248 voters per representative.

Between these two extremes there lie three other sections: the North West, the Border States and the East. The Border States and the North West, while less democratic than the Middle West, nevertheless have between sixty and seventy thousand voters per Congressional representative, and disfranchise about 40 per cent. of their population, voluntarily or involuntarily. As contrasted with the Middle West and South West democracies, we may call these republics.

On the other hand, in New England and the Middle States we have at least the beginning of distinct aristocracies—probably plutocracies. From 44 to 50 per cent. of their voters are disfranchised and 55,000 voters suffice for a representative in Congress. Their preponderance of political power comes undoubtedly from their disfranchised foreign population and from that part of the native population which has lost faith and interest in voting.

In the South we have an oligarchy ruling rotten boroughs, and a few calculations make this manifest: if the South with its 104 representatives is properly represented, then the Middle West ought to have 479 representatives instead of 139; the Pacific and Northwestern States ought to have 91 instead of 32; the South West ought to have 35 instead of 10; the Border States should have 197 instead of 62; the Middle States should have 265 instead of 101; and New England should have 89 instead of 35. Or, to put it another way, if the Middle West is properly represented, then the South instead of having 104 representatives ought to have 31. These figures are, of course, tentative and may be criticised because of the assumptions made in estimating the voting population and the disfranchised foreigners. Nevertheless on the whole they approximate a correct picture of the dangerous situation in this country. If democracy is to survive, action and vigorous action looking toward the enforcement of the 14th Amendment is absolutely necessary.

THE LYNCHING INDUSTRY—1920

M. G. ALLISON

DURING the year 1920 there were 69 persons lynched in the United States; of these lynchings 60 were Negroes, of whom one was a woman, and 9 were white men. Compared with the year 1919 this record shows a decrease of 17 among Negroes and an increase of 5 among white people.

The record for 1920 follows:

January 14—Florala, Ala., Jack Waters, shot; attacking woman.

February 5—Pine Bluff, Ark., unknown Negro; murder.

February 5—Osceola, Ark.—W. E. Hansel (white); burned by unidentified robbers.

March 4—Pike City, Ga., Cornelius Alexander.

March 11—Montgomery County, Ala., William Smith, shot; attacking girl.

March 30—Maysville, Ky., Grant Smith; attacking girl.

April 1—Laurens, S. C., George Robertson; cutting boys in dispute.

April 8—Laurens, S. C., James Steward; injuring men in fight.

April 20—Pittsburg, Kan., Albert Evans; assault.

May 8—Tampa, Fla., M. Scott; shot, insulting woman.

May 8—Beaumont, Tex., Charles Arling, flogged to death; threatening man.

June 15—Duluth, Minn., Isaac McGhee, Elmer Jackson, Nat Green; attacking girl.

June 21—Rincon, Ga., Philip Gaithers, shot; murder.

June 30—Wharton, Tex., Washington Giles and brother, shot, and Jodie Gordan and Elijah Anderson, hanged; murder.

July 2—Paris, Tex., Irving and Herman Arthur, burned; murder.

July 5—Enterprise, Miss., J. F. Spencer; fighting.

July 8—Centerville, Mo., Fred Canafex, shot; attacking woman.

July 10—Durham, N. C., Ed. Roach; attacking girl.

July 13—Steamship *City of Toledo*, Milton Harris, drowned; assault.

July 25—Fayetteville, W. Va., William Bennett, Jr., (white); murder.

July 30—Midland City, Ala., 2 Negroes; killed by posse in search of a Negro who attacked white woman.

August 2—Center, Tex., Lige Daniels; murder.

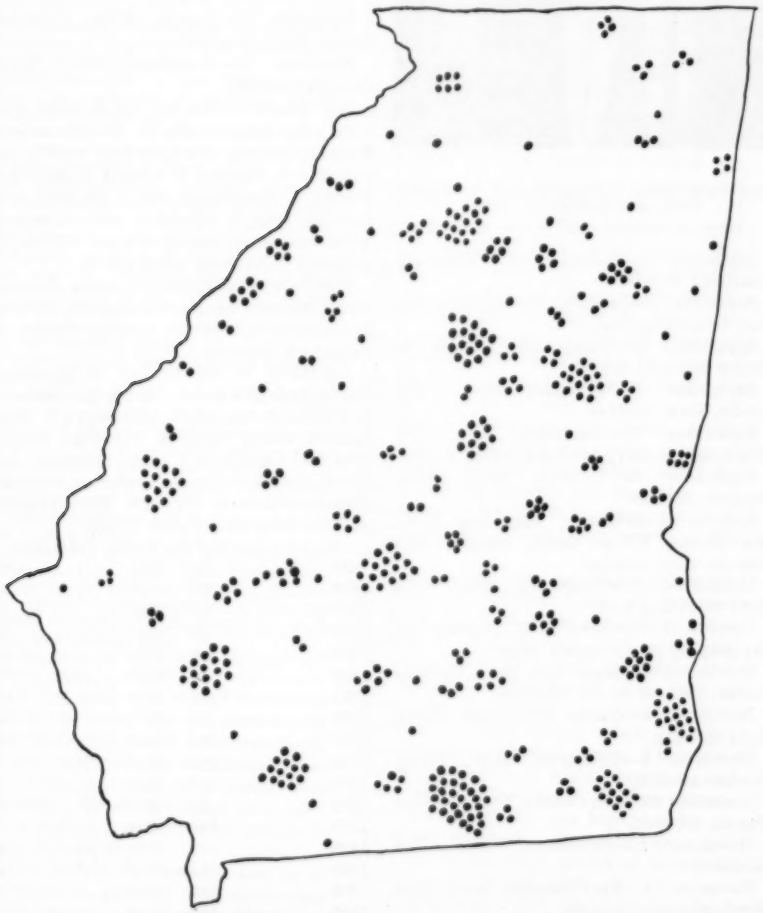
August 6—Ozark, Ala., Sills Spinks and Justin Jennings; attacking woman.

August 26—Graham, N. C., John Jeffress, shot; attacking girl.

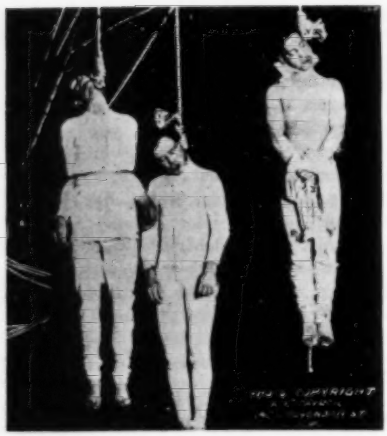
August 28—Corinth, Miss., Blutcher Higgins and Dan Callicut; assault.

August 29—Tulsa, Okla., Ray Belton; murder.

August 30—Oklahoma County, Okla., Claude Chandler; murder.



GEORGIA: THE "EMPIRE STATE" OF LYNCHING
460 Persons Lynched, 1885-1920.
(The location of each lynching is approximate, since many have occurred in the same places.)



THE CALIFORNIA LYNCHING OF 3 WHITE MEN, DECEMBER 10, 1920.
(From a post-card sold on the streets.)

September 1—Dallas, Tex., Frederick Douglass; murder.

September 9—Danville, Va., Leelie Allen, shot; wounding man.

September 10—Tulsa, Okla., Tom M. Owens (white); murder.

September 12—Quitman, Miss., Will Echols, shot; murder.

September 13—Hartford, Ala., Alto Windham (white); insulting white woman.

September 24—Houston, Tex., Oscar Beasley; murder.

October 5—McClenny, Fla., Ray Field, Ben Givens, Milton Smith, hanged, Sam Duncan, shot; murder.

October 14—Greenville, Ala., Select Reid, shot; wounding man.

October 19—Fremont, N. C., Norman Artis; peeping into woman's room.

October 28—Johnson City, Tenn., Cooksey Dallas; refused to sell whiskey.

November 2—Ocoee, Fla., July Perry, shot; fighting.

November 6—Tylertown, Miss., Harry Jacobs; assault.

November 6—Leon County, Fla., unknown Negro; drowned.

November 10—Tylertown, Miss., Ben Jacobs.

November 14—Kent Junction, Tenn., Dave Hunt; attacking woman.

November 18—Douglass, Ga., Alex Byrd, Willie and Minnie Ivory, shot; murder.

November 24—Dewitt, Ga., Curley McKelvey, shot; brother of murderer.

November 29—Princeton, Fla., J. B. Harris; attacking woman.

November 30—Thomasville, Ga., unknown.

December—Doerun, Ga., unknown.

December 5—Holdenville, Okla., unidentified Negro, shot; attacking woman.

December 8—Billings, Mont., E. F. Lampson (white); burned.

December 10—Santa Rosa, Cal., Valento, Fitts and Boyd (white); murder.

December 23—Fort Worth, Tex., T. W. Vickery (white); murder.

December 24—Purvis, Miss., Coleman Brown, shot; murder.

December 26—Jonesboro, Ark., Wade Thomas; murder.

The alleged crimes for which these persons were lynched are as follows among Negroes: murder 23, attacking women 14, unknown 8, fighting 6, assault 5, insulting woman 1, threatening man 1, peeping into woman's room 1, refusal to sell whiskey to white soldiers 1; among whites: murder 6, unknown 2, insulting white woman 1.

The methods of lynchings among Negroes were: by hanging 35, shooting 20, burning 2, drowning 2, beating 1; among whites: by hanging 6, burning 3.

According to the number of lynchings, Texas leads the states, having 11, Alabama 8, Florida 8, Georgia 8, Mississippi 7, Oklahoma 4, North Carolina, Arkansas, Minnesota and California 3 each, Tennessee and South Carolina 2 each, Kentucky, Virginia, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, West Virginia and the Steamship *Toledo* 1 each.

Negroes Lynched By Years, 1885-1920

1885	78	1904	83
1886	71	1905	61
1887	80	1906	64
1888	95	1907	60
1889	95	1908	93
1890	90	1909	73
1891	121	1910	65
1892	155	1911	63
1893	154	1912	63
1894	134	1913	79
1895	112	1914	69
1896	80	1915	80
1897	122	1916	55
1898	102	1917	44
1899	84	1918	64
1900	107	1919	77
1901	107	1920	60
1902	86		
1903	86	Total	3,112

National · Association · for · the ··· Advancement · of · Colored · People.

1921

THE following program was submitted to the National Board by the Secretary of the Association, James Weldon Johnson, at the December meeting. The Board voted its approval.

1. *Anti-Lynching legislation by Congress*
2. *Abolition of Segregation in the Departments at Washington*
3. *Enfranchisement of the Negro in the South or reduction of southern representation, if necessary*
4. *Restoration of Haitian independence and reparation, as far as possible, for wrongs committed there by the American administration, through Congressional investigation of both military and civil acts of the American Occupation*
5. *Presentation to the new President of a mammoth petition of say, 100,000 bona fide signers, collected by the various branches, requesting the pardon of the soldiers of the 24th Infantry imprisoned at Leavenworth on the charge of rioting at Houston, Texas*
6. *The abolition of Jim Crow cars in interstate traffic*
7. *Treatment of colored men in the Navy; where once many ratings as non-commissioned officers were held by Negroes, now colored men can enlist only as mess boys, in other words, as servants*
8. *Appointment of a National Inter-Racial Commission to make an earnest study of race conditions and race relations in the United States*
9. *Appointment of colored assistant secretaries in the Labor and Agricultural Departments which would give the Negro official representation in the two phases of national life where he needs most and suffers most*
10. *Continuance of the fight in the Arkansas cases*

This is our goal. We cannot accomplish all of it in one year. We can, however, accomplish more than would have been possible in any past year in the Association's history if we have with us a great, virile organization. We set our figure at a quarter of a million members with which to back our undertakings.

The Rev. Robert W. Bagnall comes to us from Detroit to conduct our membership drive and become a permanent addition to our national staff. The March number will tell more of this.

ARKANSAS JUSTICE

READERS of THE CRISIS know of the long legal fight which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been making to defend the 79 colored men who were accused of complicity in the alleged massacre of October, 1919, in Phillips County, Arkansas. For the purpose of giving the complete story, I am writing this brief chronological summary of the steps the Association has taken.

Newspapers of October 2, 1919, told of the alleged uprising planned by colored men of Phillips County through an organization known as the Progressive Farmers' and Household Union of America for the purpose of killing all of the white citizens and seizing their land. The Assistant Secretary of the Association was immediately sent to Arkansas to secure the real facts. His investigation showed that the stories of an alleged massacre planned by Negroes were untrue; that the colored people of Phillips County, as well as other parts of the State of Arkansas and of other Southern States, had been for years subjected to vicious economic exploitation under the share-cropping system, and that they had formed an organization for the purpose of securing relief through the courts of the State.

Based on the facts gained by this investigation, the National Board of Directors of the N. A. A. C. P. at a specially called meeting on November 24, 1919, authorized the employment of counsel headed by Colonel George W. Murphy of Little Rock to defend the 12 colored men who had been sentenced to death and 67 others who had been sentenced to prison terms. These convictions had occurred within five days, and these men were tried in Phillips County while the mob spirit was high, despite all our efforts to obtain a change of venue, and when there was little chance of acquittals regardless of the testimony.

An appeal was first made for a re-trial in the Phillips County Circuit Court. This motion was denied. Habeas Corpus proceedings were then prepared and at the same

time an appeal was made to the Arkansas State Supreme Court for a review of the cases in that court. This motion applied to the 12 death sentences. On January 9, 1920, the appeal for a hearing was granted by the Arkansas State Supreme Court and the cases carried for review to that court.

At this point in the case, Robert L. Hill was arrested in Kansas and fight was begun to prevent his return to Arkansas. The December issue of THE CRISIS told of that part of the fight and the eventual freeing of Mr. Hill.

The decision of the State Supreme Court was finally rendered on March 30, when the court affirmed the verdict of death in 6 of the 12 cases and reversed the verdict in the remaining 6 cases. The latter were sent back to the Phillips County Circuit Court for a new trial. The reversals were made upon the ground that the jury had rendered its verdicts improperly. In the first 6 cases, attorneys for the Association immediately applied for a writ of certiorari in the United States Supreme Court. This effort was made in order to carry the cases directly to the highest tribunal.

In the meantime, the cases which had been sent back to the Phillips County Court had been re-tried after a change of venue had been applied for and denied. As was expected, the men were convicted a second time. Colonel Murphy was taken ill after the first day of the trial and the cases were carried on with exceptional ability by Attorney Scipio A. Jones, one of the associate counsel.

On October 11, the United States Supreme Court refused to review the cases of the 6 colored men whose conviction had been affirmed by the State Supreme Court.

As a result of his illness, due, it was felt, in part to the strenuous work he had done in these cases, Colonel George W. Murphy died about the same time of day on October 11 that the United States Supreme Court was denying the writ of certiorari. This refusal by the Supreme Court to review the cases acted as an automatic resentencing of the 6 men to death.

On November 8, the cases of the 6 men who had been re-tried and re-convicted by the Phillips County Court, were again appealed to the State Supreme Court of Arkansas. This appeal for a re-hearing was granted by the Supreme Court.

While the cases were being reviewed a second time, Governor Charles H. Brough of Arkansas, in direct contravention of all precedent, issued a long statement to the newspapers which appeared on November 16, giving reasons why he believed the men were guilty and declaring that if the State Supreme Court refused to grant the appeal of the condemned men, he as Governor would grant no clemency.

In spite of these obviously unfair tactics on the part of the Governor in trying the cases in the newspapers, the State Supreme Court on December 6, reversed for a second time the verdict of death, on the ground that Negroes had been excluded from juries in Phillips County in direct contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. The cases were again remanded to the Phillips County Court for re-trial. The decision in these cases will have a direct bearing upon the cases of the 6 men whose motions for a new trial were refused and who are now under sentence of death. A reprieve will probably be granted to these men pending a decision in other cases.

It is impossible to tell how far the cases will eventually go. The decision of December 6 is the most important victory thus far, in that the reversal was upon Constitutional grounds. If justice is denied in the State Courts, it is hoped that the cases can be carried finally into the Federal Courts. The order of procedure in the Federal Courts will be, first, to the Federal Court of the Eastern District of Arkansas; second, the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Federal Court; and finally the United States Supreme Court. All of the testimony and evidence which have been secured since October, 1919, points conclusively to the fact that the men were not guilty of the crime charged and that they are imprisoned because of race prejudice in the State of Arkansas. The fight to free these men is not solely one effecting 79 individuals, but a fight to determine whether or not men shall be sent to death solely because they are colored. Another important determining factor is that this case may be the entering wedge in the struggle to end economic exploitation of colored men and women through the share-cropping system which is so widespread in Southern States.

To date the Association has expended more than $8,000 in this fight and is obligated to pay its lawyers in Arkansas an

additional $5,000 within a very short time. If the cases are eventually carried to the United States Supreme Court, the cost will probably be in excess of $30,000. An urgent appeal is made to every reader of THE CRISIS to contribute as much as he or she can to aid in the gigantic task of saving these men, and exposing to the world the evils of the peonage system in the South.

DISFRANCHISEMENT IN CONGRESS

ON December 29 and 30, James Weldon Johnson, Walter F. White and William Pickens of the National Office, together with James A. Cobb, Archibald H. Grimké and other representatives of the District of Columbia Branch, and George H. Murray, an attorney of Washington, appeared before the Committee on the Census of the House of Representatives at a hearing on the House Reapportionment Bill.

The testimony presented by the Association showing the vicious tactics used in Southern States to debar colored citizens from registering and voting by intimidation, terrorization and chicane aroused a storm of protest from the southern members of the committee. The representatives of the Association presented figures published in this number of THE CRISIS, proving the disfranchisement of colored voters; the names, addresses and registration certificate numbers of 941 colored citizens of Jacksonville, Fla., who were deliberately prevented from voting on November 2; showed that the names of 3,000 additional persons who likewise were prevented from voting, were being secured; introduced as evidence photographs showing the long lines of colored citizens who stood before the polls on election day, but were not allowed to vote; told of the election riots in Orange County, Fla., where more than 30 Negroes were burned to death because one duly qualified colored voter attempted to exercise the right of franchise; and presented much evidence of similar nature showing the deliberate methods used to disfranchise colored men and women in Southern States. Representatives of the Association directly charged the suppression of most of the colored vote in the South. They demanded, first, that a complete Congressional investigation be made of the elections of 1920 in Southern States; and, second, the full accordance of the right of franchise or a reduction of representation in the House of Representatives in proportion to the suppression of votes in those states where a Congressional investigation proved such suppression.

The tactics of Representatives Carlos Bee of Texas, W. W. Larsen of Georgia, and James H. Aswell of Louisiana, were most undignified in their efforts to heckle and harass the witnesses. Their attempts apparently were aimed to prevent, as far as possible, the inclusion of testimony in the records of the Committee. Their efforts finally became so flagrant that it was necessary for Chairman Isaac Siegel of New York to call them to order so that the hearing might continue. At the end of the hearing on the second day, a newspaper photographer appeared in the Committee room to take a photograph of the Committee and witnesses. Representative Aswell of Louisiana left the room with the statement that he "wasn't going to have his picture taken with a bunch of niggers." Representative Larsen of Georgia, according to the New York *Tribune* of December 31, informed Chairman Siegel that he did not intend leaving the room, but would "raise hell" if a picture were made with the spectators on hand as a background.

In order to avoid a row with the southern representatives, the Committee went into executive session, thus clearing the room and then the group picture was taken.

THE DULUTH CASES

SPLENDID work has been done in the defense of the colored men accused of assault upon a young girl, which led to the lynching in June in Duluth, Minn., of 3 colored men. Following the lynchings, 13 colored men were arrested, charged with criminal assault. Led by the Duluth Branch of the Association which, like the Fresno Branch, was only recently organized, and aided by the Minneapolis and St. Paul Branches, Attorneys F. L. Barnett of Chicago, R. C. McCullough of Duluth, and Charles Scrutchins of Bemidji, Minn., were employed to defend these men. The Duluth Branch raised more than $1,200 for the employment of lawyers, reporters and investigators and supplied the men who were friendless and penniless with clothes and meals while incarcerated in prison.

As a result of these efforts, 12 men have been freed. One of these was freed by a jury and their verdict thoroughly discredit-

ed the stories which caused the death of the 3 men who were lynched. Five defendants were discharged by order of the court and on Friday, December 17, six other defendants were brought into court and at the request of the prosecuting attorney, were discharged from further prosecution. One defendant was convicted and his case is now being appealed to the State Supreme Court.

CIVIL RIGHTS IN CALIFORNIA

AN important decision has just been rendered in the District Court of Appeals at San Francisco in testing the validity of the California Civil Rights Act, when a decision was rendered in favor of Errol Jones against the Kinema Theatre of Fresno.

On June 20, 1918, Mr. Jones, accompanied by a young woman, purchased tickets for the orchestra of the theatre. When he entered the theatre, he was accosted by the head usher who attempted to direct him and his companion to a remote part of the theatre near the right wall. The usher politely but firmly called his attention to a statement on the back of the ticket, "Admit one to such seat *as may be assigned by management.*"

The practice of segregating colored patrons had been practiced by this theatre for years and no attempt had been made to prevent such discrimination. When Mr. Jones insisted on sitting in the center aisle where there were vacant seats, he was told by the usher that because of orders from the management, Mr. Jones would not be allowed to sit in the center aisle. Mr. Jones thereupon left the theatre. Being a minor, suit was entered against the theatre by Edward Jones, father of Errol Jones, in the Superior Court of the State of California. The trial court awarded the complainant One Hundred Dollars, the minimum sum provided by the statute. The theatre immediately appealed and at this point the Fresno Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. entered the case. Mr. Jones was unable to bear the cost of litigation in the higher courts and turned over the entire matter to the Fresno Branch.

This branch, although organized only a few months prior to that time, having a limited membership and treasury, immediately assumed the responsibility of conducting the appeal. It called upon the other branches of the state for financial assistance, which appeal was immediately answered. The Northern California Branch took the lead in raising funds for the defense, employing E. Burton Ceruti, a member of the National Board of Directors and Attorney for the Los Angeles Branch, to handle the case in the higher court. When the case was re-argued in the District Court of Appeals at San Francisco, by a unanimous decision of the court, the verdict of the lower court awarding damages to Mr. Jones was affirmed. In the words of Mr. Ceruti, "The kernel of this decision is the principle therein established and which enlarges upon the legal definition of discrimination. In effect, it says that enforced segregation is, per se, a discrimination which is in violation of Civil Rights Statutes."

HOW ONE MAN AIDED

THERE are a number of interested persons who would aid in the work of the Association, but who, being unable to contribute large sums, hesitate to contribute small amounts. Many of these persons do not realize that the contributions of many individuals like themselves, joined together would form a huge fund to carry on the work which is so necessary. An example of what one man has done and what others can do, is seen in a letter received at the National Office as a result of an appeal in the December issue of THE CRISIS for funds to carry on the Arkansas Defense cases. The letter reads:

In reading your article in the Christmas issue of THE CRISIS, appealing to every reader of THE CRISIS who wishes to see justice done in the cases of the doomed men of our race, who are now in jail in Phillips County, Ark., B. Y. McPheeter and myself, who are subscribers to your wonderful magazine, decided to make a plea to every colored man of our little town for one dollar each to assist in seeing justice in the cases of the doomed men of Phillips County, Ark. And all the colored men in our town,—they are very few—gave one dollar each without being coaxed.

Therefore, you will find enclosed a Post Office Money Order for $20.00 made payable to THE CRISIS. Please turn same over to the Arkansas Fund. Also, will you please give acknowledgement through THE CRISIS or mail me a receipt for same? I remain,

Very truly yours,
(Signed) C. L. STEWART,
Tonopah, Nevada.

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

NATHAN ROSENBAUM in *The Liberator:*

I hear the sullen murmurs rising from the sea of human hearts—
I hear the drums of Freedom rumbling in the darkness of the night—
I see the lightning flash of Truth sink deep into the minds of Men—
I see the waves of Revolution rise in their mighty strength,
Breaking the chains of slavery,
Sweeping away the débris of decayed plutocracies,
Lifting Man into Manhood,
And freedom into its place in the sun.

* * *

Robert M. McBride and Company have published *South of Suez*, by William Ashley Anderson, a highly enthralling survey of scenes and places in East Africa. There is an account of the Empress Zeoditou of Abyssinia in the midst of the revolution which placed her on the throne:

Eyes were turned to the westward, and there, issuing from an opening in the woods, came the Empress and her followers. There was no cheering, no applause; everybody was silent with astonishment.

Covered with a plain black silk cloak, with neck and face muffled in snowy linen, so that only her eyes showed, and upon her head a broad-brimmed felt hat, she seemed to have hit by instinct upon the nobility of simplicity. Close about her were several ladies-in-waiting, similarly dressed, and all mounted on mules. But surrounding her, and spreading far on either side, came such a multitude as I have rarely seen—a torrent of sandalled, white-clad humanity, mostly soldiers, armed with shields, rifles, bandoleers, and scimitars. And this wave bore her down upon us, deposited her at the entrance to her pavilion, and then broke and swirled in independent eddies about the course until driven back into position by horsemen charging boldly into the press.

* * *

Another book dealing with Africa is A. J. B. Desmore's *With the 2nd Cape Corps Through Central Africa.* Mr. Desmore speaks in his introduction of the long wait and hesitation which preceded the formation of the Cape Corps:

The writer will endeavor to show how keen the men of this regiment were on soldiering under conditions oftimes adverse, though sometimes not unpleasant. He will depict their weary waiting in Nyasaland, where they did post duty, while undergoing at the same time strenuous courses of training. He will portray their pursuit of the enemy in the rainy season, where they daily experienced continuous down-falls of rain. He will follow them in that long and arduous chase, when they frequently brushed against the rear-guard of the enemy, and drove before them the whole of Von Lettow's force for almost two hundred miles of broken and bushy country, completing that stupendous task after six weeks in the slush and rain of a dreary winter. He will tell of their bitter disappointment at the miscarriage of the scheme to wedge in the enemy at the Lugenda, through the failure of Hawthorn's column to come up in time. And last, but by no means least, he will introduce to the reader the "Tenga Tenga," those fine black fellows who played so prominent a part in this campaign, that it came to be known as the "Tenga Tenga War."

* * *

The Lynching Bee and Other Poems by William Ellery Leonard (B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York), gives a gruesome picture of the great American pastime. The Negro has been burned at the stake and then:

At last the stench, or glow of embers, brings
The wolves, or wolf-like things . . .
Such as on earthquake midnights prowl around
Smoulder of fallen beams and littered ground,
And tear from dead hands golden finger-rings.
But though they crouch in slow two-legged stealth,
Their hunt is not for wealth.
They paw into the cinders, as with hooks . . .
Snatch something out,
With gloating, starveling looks . . .
A bit of rib . . . or skull . . . or crup . . .
Hot ash and finger knuckle . . .
They wrap them up,
And putter round about . . .
And chuckle . . .
And foot it off and down the road.

COMING EVENTS

THE possibility of organization among Negroes to a degree which shall vie with that of white men has aroused a very real fear among the supporters of "white supremacy." The majority of whites see only a menace in what might easily be a natural evolution somewhat hastened by the

Great War. Frederick Cunliffe-Owen writes in the New York *Globe:*

Even those Americans who,since they have been called upon to pay, in the form of extortionate taxes, the colossal expenditures incurred by the government in the great war, from which they insist they derived no tangible benefit, decline to interest themselves any longer in what goes on abroad, cannot afford to remain indifferent to this awakening of the Negro races into a great pan-African force. For although the blacks of the continental portion of the United States form but a tenth part of the entire population, yet by means of association they are becoming more and more of a factor in the economic situation. Furnishing as they do the bulk of the unskilled labor in the South, there are certain national industries, notably that of cotton, almost entirely dependent upon their willingness to work. Until the great war they were virtually excluded by union labor from all its skilled callings. But so powerful has the Negro element become by means of co-operation, that they have forced the American Federation of Labor to abandon its discrimination against them, and to receive them on a footing of perfect equality with the whites; while they are already hand in glove with the more advanced and extremist labor organizations, among them the I. W. W. When one recalls how violent was the opposition of all the great American labor organizations against the admission of any Negro to their ranks, their reluctant abandonment of this policy of exclusion can only be construed as a demonstration of the force which the blacks have been able to bring to bear upon them by means of co-operation.

* * *

One success leads to another and there is no telling what heights Negroes, filled with a new race-consciousness, may achieve. This author continues:

The victory which they have thus achieved is naturally bound to encourage them to further ambitions, in the way of the removal of the economic, political, and social disabilities that now handicap their aspirations. They are thoroughly discontented with their lot, more so than ever since the great war, in which nearly 400,000 of them took an active part, and where those who fought abroad were treated by the French and by the other allied nations of Europe with a degree of consideration and cordiality that was withheld from them by their white American comrades and fellow citizens there and here. And since they are malcontents, are destined to become more so, and have now become conscious of their strength, as shown by their victory against the most powerful labor organization in this country, we may look toward their becoming in very short order a disturbing factor in the political and economic system of this country.

Among the features of this Negro movement which have attracted the attention of the authorities both here and in Great Britain, is the abundance of funds which its leaders seem to have at their disposal. Thus, ,ey have a number of daily newspapers, weekly journals, and monthly magazines, some of them edited by Negroes who are graduates of Harvard and of other white universities, and which have a large circulation.

* * *

An attitude which must strike the Negro as laughable were it not so maddening is that taken by white men to the effect that the pan-African movement is a menace to Africa. When one considers Belgium and the Congo and the expropriation by England of the Mashona and Matabele lands, it is hard to imagine what worse fate can befall the natives at the hands of their own people. Mr. Cunliffe-Owen says:

All the foremost authorities on the problems connected with the black races, such as Sir Arthur Lawley, who spent a number of years as governor in South Africa; Lord Milner, now secretary of state for the colonies; the late Frederick Courtenay Selous, lion hunter and writer upon questions relating to the Zulus and to the Kaffirs; Sir Harry Johnston; Dr. Charles Peters, German explorer; Archibald Colquhoun, and others who have studied the Negro question, regard the pan-African movement as the greatest danger by which the dark continent is confronted and are well nigh unanimous in ascribing an American origin thereto.

Whereas here the whites are ten times as numerous as the blacks, in Africa the whites represent barely 1 per cent. of an average native population of 200 millions, all more or less united by a common sentiment of inherited resentment against the whites, and by an overwhelming desire to drive them out of the land of Ham.

Sir Arthur Lawley, when he left South Africa to assume the governorship of Madras, uttered publicly his conviction that sooner or later a great rising of the Blacks against the Whites would take place throughout the length and breadth of the Dark Continent. These views were not those of an irresponsible alarmist and sensation-monger, but of a colonial administrator of extensive experience, and invested with one of the most important offices in the gift of the British crown.

IT IS TO LAUGH

THE high gods who know that all is well must be often faint with laughter over some aspects of this race muddle of ours! This gem appears in the Danville, Va.. *Bee:*

No action will be taken by the authorities of the Medical College of Virginia in regard to remarks on the race question alleged to have been made before the junior class by Mrs. Margaret M. Haskins, newly

elected professor of histology and a Ph. D. of Yale University. The lecture was given several weeks ago, and is now regarded as a closed incident.

"The remarks of Dr. Haskins seem to have been much exaggerated," said Dr. E. C. L. Miller, dean of the college, Friday morning. "She used an unfortunate illustration in the course of a purely academic lecture several weeks ago. Had she said what is now being quoted, or in any way advocated inter-marriage of the race, I am quite certain the students would have risen and left the room."

Dr. Haskins came to the medical college this year from the University of Minnesota. Her father is an emeritus professor at Yale. In the lecture before the junior class, which has caused comment, she was making the point that from a physical and medical standpoint the individual should be considered and not the race, and is quoted by some of the students as having illustrated her point by saying that were the choice to be put up to her, she would prefer to marry an intelligent, cultivated and refined Negro rather than an ignorant, low, white man.

The incident created much talk among the student body, but Dr. Miller said that no action had been taken or was contemplated either by the student or the faculty—the whole being regarded as a closed incident.

"Dr. Haskins realizes," he said, "that the illustration was unfortunate, especially for one coming from New England, to use in the South."

* * *

Who said Americans had a sense of humor?

JAPAN VS. EUROPE IN CHINA

EDITH H. BEARD, writing in the Boston, Mass., *Post*, shows succinctly the proportions of holdings in China by Japan as contrasted with those claimed by European nations. "Poor old China!" says Miss Beard, "how much has she left even for herself!"

	Square miles
England has Tibet	533,000
Szechuen	218,000
Kwantung	86,000
Province of the Yangste Valley	362,000
Total	1,199,000 or 27.8%
Russia—Outer Mongolia	1,000,000
Che-Kiang	1,548,000
Three-quarters of Manchuria	273,000
Total	1,821,000 or 42.3%
France—Yunnan	146,700 or 3.4%
Japan—Shantung	55,000
South Manchuria	90,000
Mongolia	50,000
Fukien	46,000
Total	243,000 or 5.6%

Total under "foreign influence" 79%.

Tibet, rich in minerals and vast unexplored areas.

Szechuen, China's richest agricultural province; Kwantung, with its wealthy, important sea port of Hong Kong.

And the Yangste Provinces, China's chief tea-growing provinces.

There is not a city in either China or Japan that has not had to give over its finest residential sections to the European, and in almost every case tax free.

Just why is it seemingly the custom to continually speak of "Japanese aggression" and not one word about the huge holdings of these other nations?

Why, when in 1916, October 19 to be exact, when the French took 333 acres in the very heart of Tientsin, the port of Peking, an attack or grab led in person by the French chargé d'affaires at the head of a band of French soldiers, when they seized and arrested all Chinese soldiers on duty, and in the name of the French Republic annexed this land containing wharfage, streets, houses and shops, why were our papers perfectly silent about it?

But the Chinese papers teemed with the outrage, and because of their just protest, France threatened to impose an indemnity.

Why do we hear so much about Japan's 21 demands, and not one word about England's 12 demands, demands which Chinese officials term "cruel and unreasonable," demands which practically mean the annexation of Tibet by the British government.

The world certainly seems to have a double standard of international justice, and it seems quite time that the real aggressors ceased using Japan as a smoke screen.

AT LAST, GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

THE great English playwright, George Bernard Shaw, utters a strong word on "The New Terrorism." He writes in the New York *American:*

Let us no longer deceive ourselves. Our statesmen are still in the dark ages, and the war that brought down the night has been ended in victory which has deepened the gloom to blackness and intensified the terror to nightmare

Like a man broken on a wheel, who shrieked at the first stroke but laughed at the second, we have ceased to respond to the horrors around us.

England blockading and starving Central Europe and laying Ireland to waste, Japan keeping her countenance in Korea, Holy Russia (for Bolshevist Russia is now either the real Holy Russia or the most wretched of imposters) combining with the Turks to crush Armenia, South Africa threatened

with secession in which white labor is irreconcilable with the millionfold of colored labor, holocausts of children in the heart of Europe, and, above all, the steady rise of food prices in the face of the yet unanswered question whether the allies in starving Central Europe have not also starved themselves—all this has so broken the spirits of the few who are capable of grasping it that they can only shrug their shoulders and say:

"Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," whilst the fools who have found that folly is at a premium in wartime, and the profiteers who have found that war makes profiteers rich, drive the sheep-like multitude in every direction where they can decry the chance for another war.

For example, before the war there were horrible lynchings in America, but they were not advertised in England. I was sent a few furtive snapshots of lynchings that showed nothing distinctly and had evidently been taken at some risk to the photographer.

But a few days ago I saw a photograph of a lynching which was handed around in a London drawing-room, and for this photograph the lynchers, including a group of women, had posed, eager, smirking and proud of themselves, in an orderly row, with a young man in the middle dragging the body of the victim half upright so as to exhibit it the better, without the least suspicion that he was exhibiting his country in its worst aspect to eastern rivals only too glad to be able to point to this horror and say, "Behold the fruits of democracy!"

If such frightful photographs are accessible to me, they are accessible to the American police. If people pose for them, they are evidently as sure as the Black and Tans in Ireland that they have no reason to fear prosecution.

ECHOES FROM THE ELECTION

WE are constantly receiving accounts of methods employed in the recent election campaign to check or at least offset the Negro vote. An especial effort was made to prevent colored women from voting, but in many places men were prevented too. Here is a typical dialogue from Lexington, N. C.:

Q. What can I do for you?
A. I came to register.
Q. You came in to register?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. Didn't you know that I do not register colored people?
A. No, sir. I thought that it was your duty to register any citizen who could read and write the Constitution.
Q. Yes, but you are the first colored man that has applied for registration.
A. Well what has that got to do with it?
Q. If I register you the whole settlement of your people will be here to register. I would not mind registering you, but for that I simply will not register you.
A. (Indignantly) Well—but is it not law that you give me a trial?
Q. Yes (making as though to get his books was a great effort) but I warn you before hand that you will not be able to satisfy me.
A. If I am eligible, will not that satisfy you?
Q. No.
A. Why?
Q. Because you are colored and I have been advised to register no colored people.
A. Do you think that is fair to us? Have not colored people been instrumental in one way or another in making your business what it is?
Q. Yes, but I do not want to be criticised and both parties will criticise me.
A. Well, do you stand more in fear of criticism from man for doing right than you would in fear of God for doing wrong?
Q. I do.
A. Well, what do you think of the colored man's rights?
Q. Well, I think he has not got any whatever that should be considered; that is my view, etc.

* * *

A letter from Florida speaks for itself:

I am sure that you know something of the recent wholesale slaughter of colored people at Ocoee, Fla., but I am afraid that you don't know what a large number of people were burned in 25 houses.

I know from good authority that there were three wagon loads of bodies. Of course the Florida papers only told that one man was lynched and 5 or 6 killed, and the burning of 25 homes. All of the colored people who escaped are afraid to tell anything, but God knows it is terrible here and I do pray that you and your coworkers can have those murderers punished.

I cannot sign my name as I am afraid, and later I'll try and tell you about the "Klans." * * * Colored people in the vicinity were all frightened, as they had received messages that they were going to burn all the colored houses as the man who was running for sheriff was defeated and they claim that had it not been for the colored votes he would not have been defeated. I do hope that you all will be able to have something done to protect the lives of our people down here * * * Often when reading about the conditions in the South I thought they were exaggerated, but I find that nothing has pictured the conditions as horribly as they are. I will write again signing. Don't say how this information was given, as I may not be as lucky to get away as others have.

Yours,
November.

Men of the Month.

"THE EMPEROR JONES"

CHARLES S. GILPIN, now playing in "The Emperor Jones," is that most remarkable being—a man who has seen his dream come true. As a little boy he longed for an opportunity to display his rich dramatic gift. But as one member of the Provincetown Players' Company puts it, "for years he has had within himself the power to mount to the top of the ladder and there has been no ladder."

Gilpin in spite of learning early that such opportunities as came his way for acting, paid him but poorly, could not keep away from the stage. Thus we find him alternating between the theatre and other callings of a more practical nature. He has been printer, barber and porter, interspersing these activities with parts in variety shows and entertainments in churches and music halls.

In 1896 he joined the Perkus and Davis Great Southern Minstrel Barn Storming Aggregation, but its insolvency was quickly shown. He retired then, as he thought, permanently, but in 1903 he yielded again to his ruling passion and joined the Gilmore Canadian Jubilee Singers for the season of 1903-1904. He enjoyed this experience greatly, for no one objected to his color. In 1905 he acted with the Williams and Walker Company. Thence he drifted to the Pekin Players in Chicago, where he had a chance at everything from the veriest slapstick acting to Grand Opera. This company consisted of some forty members of whom eleven were finally selected for playing serious drama—and Gilpin was one of them. But the death of the manager of the Pekin Players sent Gilpin back to vaudeville in the South.

He could not find work among the New York managers, who saw only his dark skin, and back he went to the "road"—the railroad—as a Pullman porter.

In 1919 he played the part of the faithful old slave in "Abraham Lincoln."

But Gilpin was meant for something bigger than the portrayal of a purely racial part. His is a genius to interpret universal characteristics—the qualities which lie at heart in all men.

Eugene O'Neill needed such an actor for the leading part in his "The Emperor Jones". For once Fortune was kind and brought together the man who had the part to give and the man who could act it. "The Emperor Jones" is a great play but it took Gilpin to show New York how wonderful it was, and incidentally how rich and subtle was his own interpretive genius.

The critics for once all agreed. Heywood Broun writes in the New York *Tribune*:

CHARLES S. GILPIN, IN "THE EMPEROR JONES."

The Emperor is played by a Negro actor named Charles S. Gilpin, who gives the most thrilling performance we have seen any place this season. He sustains the succession of scenes in monologue not only because his voice is one of a gorgeous natural quality, but because he knows just what to do with it. All the notes are there and he has also an extraordinary facility for being in the right place at the right time.

The New York *Globe* quotes Kenneth MacGowan:

But without the fine playing of Charles S. Gilpin, the Negro actor, as Emperor Jones, the whole play would fall to the ground and the most striking of the silhouette scenes come to nothing. Gilpin's is a sustained and splendid piece of acting. The moment when he raises his naked body against the moonlit sky, beyond the edge of the jungle, and prays is such a dark lyric of the flesh, such a cry of the primitive being as I have never seen in the theatre.

And Alexander Woolcott tells us in the New York *Times*:

They have acquired an actor, one who has it in him to invoke the pity and the terror and the indescribable foreboding which are part of the secret of "The Emperor Jones."

Gilpin has transcended race and country. His playing in "The Emperor Jones" is a universal appeal.

THE late Rt. Rev. Charles Henry Phillips, of Nashville, Tenn., is known as the pioneer bishop of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, having established churches in Indiana, Ohio, Arizona, New Mexico and California. Bishop Phillips was licensed to preach at the age of 20, in 1878. He has lectured both in America and abroad, and in 1898 he wrote the "History of the C. M. E. Church." Bishop Phillips has been a delegate to every General Conference since 1886 and a representative at conventions in London, England, in 1891 and 1901; at the convention in Toronto, Canada, in 1911, he was elected one of three secretaries. In 1902 he was elected to the bishopric with the largest majority ever given a candidate for this office.

Bishop Phillips was born in Milledgeville, Ga., January 17, 1858, being the tenth child of Reverend and Mrs. G. W. Phillips. Among Bishop Phillips' six children are Dr. Charles H. Phillips, Jr., of St. Louis, Mo., and Dr. J. T. Phillips of Nashville, Tenn.

JOHN W. LEWIS of Morrisville, Pa., is a director of the Chamber of Commerce and one of the largest stockholders of the National Bank and Trust Company. In addition to considerable real estate holdings, he operates the largest modern garage in the county. In one year Mr. Lewis built 50 houses; the accompanying picture is one of three blocks owned by Mr. Lewis.

MR. W. H. WALTON, a Negro, is known as a window-dresser, connected with O. H. Berry & Company at Richmond, Va. Mr. Walton's unique ideas have gained favorable comment from tradesmen and the press and the conventions of the International Display Men's Association.

The Granite Enclosure Cemetery Plot is an original design by Mr. Walton and is considered one of the handsomest and costliest in Richmond.

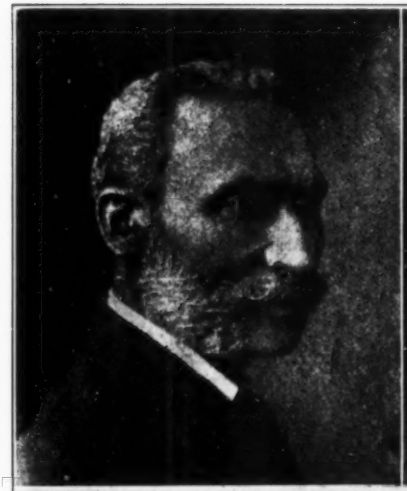
JOHN H. LEWIS is president of Morris Brown University, an A. M. E. school at Atlanta, Ga. He was born at Oglethorpe, Ga., in 1881, and was educated at Morris Brown University, the Yale University Divinity School and Chicago University. For four years he was principal of Payne Institute; he taught for a number of years at Morris Brown, at the same time being pastor of Trinity Church, South Atlanta. In 1918 as pastor of the A. M. E. Church at Springfield, Mo., his congregation of 150 members raised $10,000 for building purposes; in addition Mr. Lewis served as principal of Lincoln High School in that city. Finally he was transferred to Pasadena, Cal., where he was minister to one of the most progressive and influential churches of the West. He was elected President of Morris Brown last summer when the former president became a bishop.

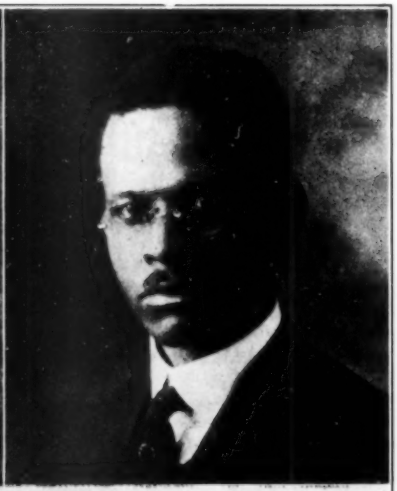
LONELINESS

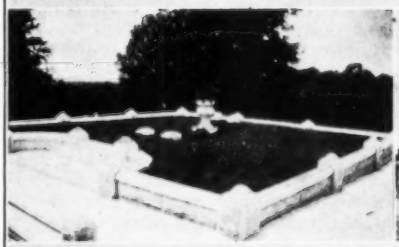
WINIFRED VIRGINIA JORDAN

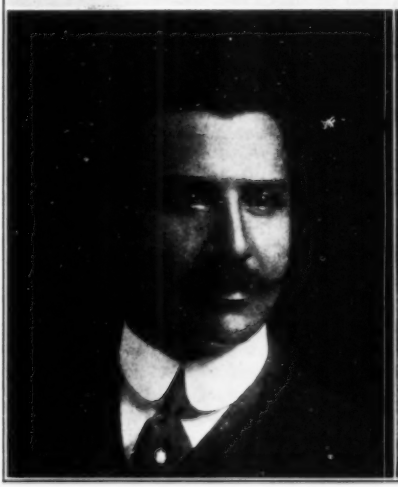
I CANNOT make my thoughts stay home;
I cannot close their door;
And, oh, that I might shut them in,
And they go out no more!

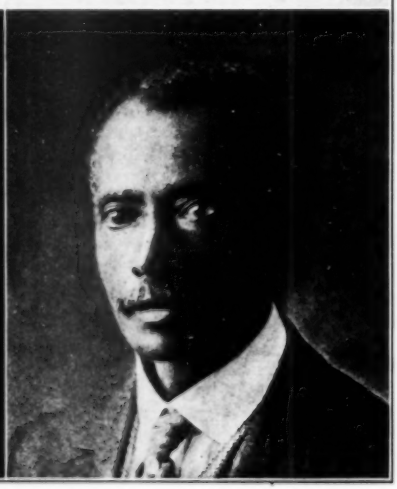
For they go out, with wistful eyes,
And search the whole world through;
Just hoping, in their wandering,
To catch a glimpse of you!











THE LATE BISHOP C. H. PHILLIPS
Cemetery Plot Designed by Mr. Walton
W. H. WALTON

JOHN H. LEWIS
One of 3 Blocks Owned by Mr. J. W. Lewis
JOHN W. LEWIS

COMPILED BY MADELINE G. ALLISON

MUSIC AND ART

THE song cycle "In a Persian Garden" has been presented at Hampton Institute. The artists included Revella Hughes, soprano of Huntington, W. Va., Harry Delmore, tenor of Boston; and two white singers, Elizabeth Lennox, contralto, and Jerome Swinford, baritone, of New York. The accompanist was Mrs. R. Nathaniel Dett.

¶ Mr. Eubie Blake, a Negro, has entered a contract to play for the Æolian Piano Roll Company.

¶ Carl Diton has given a lecture-recital, "The Work of Negro Composers," at the Indiana Avenue School, Atlantic City, N. J. There were over 200 auditors.

¶ The colored Martin-Smith School in New York City has given its annual concert at Carnegie Hall. Among the features were a symphony orchestra of 100, a children's orchestra of 50, Florence Cole Talbert, soprano; Marion Anderson, contralto; Andrades Lindsay, pianist; and David I. Martin, Jr., 'cellist.

¶ A branch of the National Association of Negro Artists and Musicians has been organized at Columbus, Ohio, with J. Cleveland Lemons as president.

¶ "The Open Door", a Negro pageant written by Alice Ware of Atlanta, Ga., has been presented at Symphony Hall, Boston, for the benefit of Atlanta University.

¶ Gus Hill has arranged with S. H. Dudley for the production of "Mutt and Jeff" by an all Negro caste.

¶ George P. Kellybrew at Dardanella, Ark., is a Negro sculptor at the plant of Lewis A. Evans. He works directly in the marble, without clay models, and excels as a copyist although he has not taken up original designing or composition.

EDUCATION

THE General Education Board has appropriated $40,000 to the colored South Carolina State College at Orangeburg, for the erection of the Memorial Training School for Teachers.

¶ Emmason D. Fuller has been elected captain of Howard University's football team. Mr. Fuller was a star player on the New Haven High School team.

¶ Dr. Charles E. Bentley, the eminent colored dentist of Chicago, has lectured at Howard University. His subjects were "Systematic Diseases Due to Mouth Infection," "Systematic Infection Due to Pyorrhea," and "Systematic Infections Due to Inadequate Root Therapy." Dr. Ballock, Dean of the Medical Department, said: "It was the wisest and sanest talk on the subject that I have ever heard."

¶ Howard University has instituted a series of Faculty "Round Tables."

¶ St. Phillips' colored P. E. Church in New York City has given a scholarship to Hampton Institute to be awarded as a prize next spring to the member of the senior class having the highest scholastic record.

¶ Negroes to the number of 1,240 are attending public evening schools in Indianapolis; 100 are studying stenography and bookkeeping. Three local colored businesses are employing 50 colored women clerks and 8 colored women are clerks at the Court and State Houses.

¶ The Rev. L. R. W. Johnson of Lynchburg, Va., has been elected president of the National Baptist Theological Seminary at Nashville, Tenn.

¶ Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., has been defeated but once in football games during the past 20 years; that defeat was 10 years ago.

¶ The Delaware School Auxiliary Association has appropriated $58,000 to the State College for Colored Students.

¶ Out of 68 institutions known as "land grant or state colleges" 17 are agricultural and mechanical schools for Negroes. Of an annual attendance of 150,000, Negroes aggregate 10,000; of 12,000 teachers employed 600 are in the Negro schools; of an annual income amounting to $54,000,000, Negro institutions receive $1,600,000. During the past 6 years the Negro schools have given instruction to 13,000 youths.

¶ The Douglass School, Cincinnati, Ohio, has a force of 39 day and 13 night school teachers. Among teachers who gave long terms of service are the late Elvira Willis, 45 years; Lelia Adams, 30 years; Andrew Jackson DeHart, 26 years; and Archie King, 25 years. Mr. F. M. Russell is principal.

¶ Sarah Rector, the Negro owner of oil land in Oklahoma, is a student at the colored Lincoln High School, Kansas City, Mo.

¶ P. Coleman Dupont of Wilmington, Del., on a visit to the colored Lincoln University, Pa., gave a check for $100,000 payable to the institution.

¶ The principal of Howard High School, Wilmington, Del., writes us that Mrs. Alice Dunbar Nelson was dismissed not because she went on a pilgrimage to Marion, but because she was absent without leave and refused to retract statements concerning the principal made in a local paper of which she is assistant editor.

¶ Th junior record in typewriting in the Commercial Department of Wilberforce University has been raised from 46 to 58 words per minute by Laurence T. Young. He has been awarded a gold medal.

¶ In South Carolina there were 198,645 Negroes enrolled in schools during 1918-19 and 251,960 during 1919-20, an increase of 53,315 or 26 per cent.

¶ The cornerstone of Lute Hall has been laid at Clark University. The building will cost $250,000 and contain 10 classrooms, administration offices, gymnasium, chapel with a seating capacity of 800, and dormitory rooms for 50 persons. The building will be dedicated at the June commencement.

¶ Wendell W. King, a Negro student at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., is chief engineer of the College Radio Club and a member of the Cosmopolitan Club.

INDUSTRY

THE United States Department of Labor at Washington, D. C., announces the publication of its second study of Negro labor, which will be issued from the office of the Division of Negro Economics.

¶ At a depth of 550 feet, oil has been struck at the Okolona Colored Industrial School, Okolona, Miss. A sample is said to be of a superior grade and will command a high price in the market.

¶ During November the colored Great Southern Fire Insurance Company of Atlanta, Ga., placed over $40,000 worth of insurance.

¶ The Binga State Bank at Chicago, Ill., has been granted a charter; its capital and surplus is $120,000. Associated with Jesse Binga are C. N. Langston, Robert S. Abbott, Colonel John R. Marshall and others. Negroes in Cook County, Ill., have $9,000,000 deposited in various banks.

¶ In South Carolina 68.7% of farm-land is lying idle. Negroes operate over twice as many tenant farms as whites; Negro owners operate over one-tenth of all the farms in the state, and slightly less than one-third of all the farms operated by owners. Farm mortgages have trebled during the past 20 years.

¶ In Chicago there is said to be 100,000 unemployed Negro laborers. Because of reduced production, more than 70,000 Negroes have agreed to accept a reduction in wages rather than lose their jobs.

¶ *The Philadelphia Tribune,* a colored weekly paper, has passed its 37th year of publication.

¶ The colored First Standard Bank at Louisville, Ky., has elected the following officers: Wilson Lovett, president; W. W. Spradling, 1st vice-president and chairman of the board; Dr. L. R. Johnson, 2nd vice-president; and Bishop George C. Clement, 3rd vice-president. There are 31 members on its Board of Directors and 12 members on its executive committee. Mr. Lovett was for a number of years connected with Tuskegee Institute and the Standard Life Insurance Company.

¶ The Pullman Company has granted an increase in salary of 15% to all employees of 10 years' service. The Pullman Porters' Association has 5,100 members.

¶ John R. Hawkins, financial secretary of the A. M. E. Church, has been elected president of the Prudential Bank, capitalized at $100,000 by Negroes of Washington, D. C. Henry P. Slaughter, vice-president, is editor and manager of the *Odd Fellows' Journal;* R. H. Rutherford, treasurer, is vice-president of the National Benefit Life Insurance Company.

¶ Brown and Stevens, Negro bankers at Philadelphia, have opened a branch at North Philadelphia, Pa. The bank has passed the million dollar mark and has 10,000 depositors.

¶ Negroes at Edenton, N. C., have organized a bank to be capitalized at $25,000. Over $10,000 has been subscribed.

¶ The colored Poro college at St. Louis, Mo., has celebrated its 20th anniversary. The feature of the celebration was the dedication of a $150,000 annex to the $250,000 main building. Aaron E. Malone is president and Mrs. Annie M. Malone is the founder of the institution.

¶ The four colored banks in Virginia paid $328,000 in Christmas savings funds, to 16,121 depositors. The Mutual Savings Bank, Portsmouth, had 7,500 members and paid $130,000; the Brown Savings Bank, Norfolk, 5,000 members and $125,000; Tidewater Bank and Trust Company, Norfolk, 3,421 members and $60,000; Community Savings Bank, Portsmouth, 200 members and $13,000.

¶ Solvent Savings Bank and Trust Company at Memphis, Tenn., paid $100,000 to Christmas club depositors. This bank, which was established 13 years ago, has resources of $1,136,000 and deposits, $1,043,000; in savings accounts, $500,000; demand deposits, including commercial checking accounts, $330,000; time deposits, $200,000. Messrs. J. W. Sanford is president and B. M. Roody, cashier.

¶ Tidewater Bank and Trust Company of Norfolk, Va., is planning two branches—one in Berkeley Ward, Norfolk, and one at Hampton, Va. The capital of $103,000 is to be raised to $250,000. The bank was opened in 1919; after its first year's operation a net return of 12½ per cent. was realized on its capital, 5 per cent. of which was paid to stockholders and 7½ per cent. added to the surplus.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

ARMSTRONG ASSOCIATION of Philadelphia, affiliated with the National Urban League, has received the following scholarships: two at the University of Pennsylvania, one for three years and one for two years; a two-year scholarship at Temple University and one for a year at another college; a two-year scholarship at the Pennsylvania School for Social Service and one High School scholarship.

¶ Jesse O. Thomas, Southern Field Secretary, reports the organization of an Urban League in Albany, Ga., with Henry Macarthy as chairman and Mrs. Eva Henry, secretary. The program includes the employment of a woman worker to develop community activities.

¶ That Negroes are taking pride in financing philanthropic ventures is evinced by their contributions in campaigns for community budgets. In Kansas City they have given in excess of $10,500; in Louisville, $3,000; in St. Louis, $5,000; and in Detroit, $6,300.

¶ The Atlanta Urban League is conducting a Childs' Health Center, thus filling a long-felt need for increased facilities for training mothers in the proper nourishment of their children.

¶ The personnel of the St. Louis Urban League's employed staff has been enlarged to include Miss Uxenia Scott, formerly special case worker with the New Jersey Urban League, as Neighborhood Secretary, and Lane C. Cleaves, formerly with the Fraternal Savings Bank of Memphis, as Industrial Secretary. The colored woman employed in St. Louis as municipal nurse, secured by the St. Louis Urban League, has proved so satisfactory that the League, at the request of the city, is furnishing another.

¶ Eighty-three industries obtained employees last year through the St. Louis Urban League; 13 of these used Negro labor for the first time.

¶ The period of unemployment is causing the industrial departments of the various branches of the League to check up on Negro efficiency in industry. The reports from employers are favorable on the whole: Ninety-eight per cent of the Cleveland industries report that Negro laborers are as satisfactory as white. They are being let off in the same proportion and will be taken on again as soon as business opens up. Several industries are carrying the industrial insurance for their colored employees until they can give them work again. St. Louis, Detroit and Cincinnati report that employers of Negro labor have found them generally satisfactory.

¶ The Boston Urban League, in its first annual report, relates that three members of its Women's Committee took a course in Volunteer Social Work and one in Dietetics at their own expense in order to be of more service to the League. The following investigations were made: average wage of colored laborers (found to be smaller than that of whites); cases for the Associated Charities in Districts 10, 14, 15 and 16; investigations to show need for day nurseries in certain districts; investigations for the

Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Travelers' Aid and Public Schools. Matthew W. Bullock is executive secretary.

¶ The Philadelphia Association for the Protection of Colored Women, affiliated with the Urban League, reports that among migrant girls who have been accommodated at its home and subsequently followed into the new life of the city, one has become a Y. W. C. A. matron, one a second year High School student, and one a student nurse.

FRATERNITIES

NEGRO Elks of Philadelphia have held their annual "gambol" at the Metropolitan Opera House; 3,000 people attended. The proceeds will be used for the erection of a home

¶ The National Grand United Order of Wise Men and Women has purchased St. Anthony's Hospital, Memphis, Tenn., for $11,000.

¶ Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Illinois has conferred upon Dr. Walter N. Thomas, 33rd degree, the title and privilege of a Past Grand Master.

¶ Masons of North Carolina have elected Dr. James E. Shepard, president of the National Training School at Durham, as Grand Master. The convention lasted 3 days and 1,000 delegates were in attendance.

POLITICS

FRANKLIN F. WRIGHT has been elected to the Cambridge, Mass., Common Council over 5 white contestants.

¶ At Kansas City, Mo., Mr. M. L. Hines has been appointed Deputy Marshal.

¶ At Philadelphia, Washington L. Glenn has been elected Financial Secretary of the 26th Ward Republican Executive Committee, which has 73 white and 5 Negro members; E. W. Henry has been appointed a clerk in the Office of the Receiver of Taxes; and John A. Carey has been elected a member of the 30th Ward Republican Executive Committee.

THE CHURCH

AT the Class Leaders' Rally at Mother Zion A. M. E. Church, New York City, $14,920 was raised; $10,000 was deposited in the building fund for the new church. The Rev. J. W. Brown is pastor.

¶ The Rev. C. Stoll is to be ordained as the first Negro Lutheran pastor at Philadelphia.

¶ The Memphis and Jackson Conference of the A. M. E. Church has convened at Memphis, with Bishop Cleaves presiding. During the year $80,000 was raised for education and missions; with the addition of funds for building and repair work, the sum is over $200,000. "Cleaves Industrial Hall" is being erected at Lane College at a cost of $70,000.

¶ The 45th session of the Zion A. M. E. Conference of Virginia has been held at Norfolk, with Bishop Blackwell presiding. The conference raised $100,000, its quota of the Million Dollar Tercentenary, and $12,000 for general claims and benevolence. Conversions for the year were 950 with an accession of 1,200.

¶ The Baptist State Convention of North Carolina reports the raising of $100,000 during the year. Shaw University and a dozen secondary schools will receive the bulk of this money. The Rev. O. S. Bullock, of High Point, was elected to succeed the Rev. O. J. Allen as president of the convention.

¶ Among disbursements of the M. E. Church is $587,963 for the Freedman's Aid Society.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

LELIA WALKER WILSON, daughter of the late Mme. C. J. Walker, has made application for insurance aggregating $300,000, the largest sum ever asked for by a Negro. The late William Cox of Indianoela, Miss., carried $27,000 worth of insurance; Armstead Walker of Richmond, Va., $19,000; and John Merrick of Durham, N. C., $10,000.

¶ The Park Institute of America has published in its magazine, *The Park International*, issued at Washington, D. C., an article on "Playgrounds for Colored America" by Ernest T. Attwell, a Negro Field Director.

¶ Nelson Gore, a Negro of Providence, R. I., has been a football player for 23 years. He is 37 years of age.

¶ In 1910 there were 635 Negroes in Binghampton, N. Y.; today there are 621, a loss of 14 in 10 years.

¶ In a 9-day canvass, Negroes at St. Louis, Mo., subscribed $66,000 for an orphans' home.

¶ In Baltimore, Md., there are 108,390 Negroes, an increase of 23,641 since 1910.

¶ The Negro population of Louisville, Ky., 40,118, shows a decrease of 404 since 1910.

¶ The Home Missions Council, New York

City, has published a bulletin on race relations.

¶ The John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital at Tuskegee Institute has been classified as a Grade A hospital, being 1 of 3 hospitals in the state thus classified. Other Grade A hospitals operated by Negroes are the Douglass at Philadelphia, Freedmen's at Washington, and Old General at Kansas City, Mo. Graduates of the nurse training course at Tuskegee, who are registered by the State of Alabama, will be granted reciprocal certificates of registration by the Illinois State Board. The director of the Tuskegee hospital is John C. Kenny.

¶ President-elect Harding during his visit to the Isthmus of Panama received a delegation of Negroes, and expressed pleasure at their greeting. The spokesman was William C. Todd, an alumnus of the University of Michigan and attorney of Colon.

¶ Myrtle C. Williams, a colored girl of Newark, N. J., has been appointed stenographer in the Mayor's Department.

¶ In the Thanksgiving offering taken in the public schools at Birmingham, Ala., $2139 was contributed by Negro children. The per capita contribution among white children was 19 cents, while among Negroes it was 20 cents. The white Central High School raised $869, a per capita of 37 cents; the colored Industrial High School raised $736, a per capita of $1.23.

¶ Negroes, headed by Beresford Gale of Philadelphia, have purchased 68 acres of land at a cost of $10,000 for the Pitman Country Club at Pitman, N. J.

¶ Paid colored social workers at Washington, D. C., have organized the Washington Council of Social Workers. Lawrence A. Oxley is president.

¶ Chicago's Negro population is 109,594, an increase of 148.5% since 1910, as against an increase of 21% among whites who number 2,589,104.

¶ *The Women's Missionary Recorder*, a colored publication at Fort Scott, Kan., circulates in 38 states, Canada, South America, West and South Africa and the West Indian Islands.

¶ At the 18th annual meeting of the Society of American Zoologists, held at the University of Chicago, Dr. E. E. Just, Negro professor of Zoology and Physiology at Howard University, spoke on "The Primary Event in Fertilization." Dr. Just's experiments are reported to have brought him closer than any scientist in the world to the original source of life.

¶ Will Thomas, a Negro refugee from Monticello, Ga., reports that he was forced to pick from 500-600 pounds of cotton daily; owners who have 25 families on their plantations employ 5 overseers, who are armed with guns, whips and clubs which they use on the laborers.

¶ Mrs. A. J. Evans, a colored woman at Attleboro, Mass., has been appointed as the first policewoman by Mayor P. E. Brady.

¶ *The Billboard* is publishing a column, "The Billboard and the Race Press." It says: "One month has since elapsed and we are gratified with the favorable expressions with which the page has been received by the profession and the public."

¶ Mr. W. W. Russell, a Negro at Kansas City, Mo., has been a first prize winner for his poultry exhibit for 5 consecutive years.

¶ Mobile, Ala., has a population of 23,893 Negroes as against 36,869 whites.

¶ There are 22,567 Negroes in Augusta, Ga., an increase of 4,232 since 1910; the white population is 29,894, an increase of 7,246.

¶ John Roberts, a Negro of Jersey City, N. J., passed the Civil Service examination for patrolman with 92 29/100%; he is No. 155 on a list of 239. Mr. Roberts is 27 years of age.

¶ During the past year 3,715 patients were admitted to Freedman's Hospital, Washington, D. C. Of 3,745 patients discharged, the results were 1,830 recovered, 1,353 improved, 252 unimproved, 47 not treated and 263 deaths. There were 2,016 operations performed. The number of pay patients was 867.

¶ The 24th annual meeting of the American Negro Academy has been held in Washington, D. C. The speakers were John W. Cromwell, the Rev. Charles D. Martin, T. G. Steward, James Weldon Johnson and Robert T. Browne. An exhibit of rare prints, portraits, manuscripts, books and other interesting evidences of Negro culture was open to the public.

¶ Twenty colored women from various sections of the country have held a day's conference with the National Board and Staff of the Young Women's Christian Association. Present conditions and the outlook of work among Negroes were discussed. Florence Simms, Industrial Secretary of the National Board, made the opening address, while Charlotte Hawkins-Brown

spoke for a larger representation of colored women officials in colored associations. Suggested by-laws for the government of colored women's branches were changed so as to give more initiative to the colored women.

PERSONAL

MRS. MARY BROOKS, a Negro at Manassas, Va., is dead at the age of over 100 years; her husband is also a centenarian.

¶ Rev. and Mrs. W. P. Hayes, Sr., of North Carolina, have celebrated their Golden Wedding Anniversary. Rev. Hayes is 76 and Mrs. Hayes 66. Rev. Hayes was one of the first teachers of North Carolina; he served in the Legislature of that state for two consecutive terms. The Rev. W. P. Hayes, Jr., pastor of the Mount Olivet Baptist Church, New York City, is the eldest son in a family numbering 12 children.

FOREIGN

ADMIRAL KNAPP reports 788 cases of small-pox in Haiti; 694 of these cases are in Port-au-Prince.

¶ Arrangements are being made for the organization of a Y. W. C. A. in Liberia. It is planned to send two colored American secretaries, to be financed by the colored associations of the United States, to start the organization.

¶ The preliminary report of the Industrial Census of South Africa shows that the average number of persons employed is: Cape, 37,153, of whom 16,846 are white and 20,307 are colored; Natal, 25,770, of whom 6,684 are white and 19,086 are colored; Transvaal, 32,227, of whom 13,182 are white and 19,045 are colored. Orange Free State, 4,264, of whom 2,104 are white and 2,160 are colored, a total of 38,816 white and 60,598 colored workers. The wages paid are: Cape of Good Hope, white persons, £2,062,000, and colored persons, £20,000, a total of £2,082,000; Natal, white persons, £1,172,000, and colored persons, £487,000, a total of £1,659,000; the Transvaal, white persons, £3,110,000, and colored persons, £673,000, a total of £3,783,000; Orange Free State, white persons, £2,890,000, and colored persons, £68,000, a total of £2,958,000. The total for the Union is: White persons, £6,633,000, and colored persons, £2,148,000, making a grand total of £8,781,000.

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I want to acknowledge and thank you for the copies of THE BROWNIES' BOOK which came a few days ago. Please enter me as a subscriber—I enclose check—and when the subscription is out please notify me. I shall send the copies to my little grand daughter *after I have enjoyed them.* My years have not robbed me of a childish pleasure in well-told stories, to say nothing of the pictures.

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The SOUTHERN AID SOCIETY OF VA., INC., has attained its front rank position in the esteem of the public by its SUPERIOR SERVICE in providing continuous protection to its policyholders against sickness, accidents and death. Such exceptional service deserves public approval, hence we appreciate most highly the following editorial from the great Journal and Guide, of Norfolk, Va., one of the race's leading weeklies.

"A MODEL RACE INSTITUTION"

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(From Norfolk JOURNAL & GUIDE, Dec. 11, 1920)

If those who were engaged in building an enduring economic foundation for the Afro-American people received from all race institutions the loyal co-operation that is characteristic of the Southern Aid Society of Virginia,, Inc., our problems would be greatly simplified, if not solved.

The Southern Aid Society of Virginia is an insurance corporation. It is a model of efficiency in its management and has been highly successful and prosperous. In its policy it has been exceedingly liberal to its policyholders, giving a little more for the money than others seem able or disposed to give, yet it has enjoyed a degree of prosperity that may well be envied by other organizations of its class.

The corporation is a liberal supporter of Afro-American business enterprises. Its stationery and requisites in the nature of office forms and literature are done on Afro-American printing presses; it has built business properties in every important city in Virginia and in the District of Columbia and has liberally and almost exclusively used Afro-American architects and tradesmen in the building of them: it is a liberal patron of Afro-American newspapers and periodicals and it makes no apologies for having nine-tenths of its reserve funds deposited in Afro-American banks. It is strictly an Afro-American institution, and a shining example for a great many other alleged Afro-American institutions which we could name. It is not a loyal Afro-American because it does not love and does not wish to be in harmony with all mankind, neither does it envy any other race or wish to see any friction between Afro-Americans and any other race; but it is a loyal race institution as a matter of business and of principle. It is on the best of terms with institutions of the opposite race and enjoys their great respect and confidence.

The Southern Aid Society of Virginia is doing now and has always done what all of our race institutions must do: give something in return for what they receive from the race.

There are great Afro-American insurance companies that have the bulk of their funds deposited in banks that are not controlled by Afro-Americans; there are great denominational institutions that receive every dollar they get from Afro-Americans that do not deposit one dollar in Afro-American banks; this is true of probably the most ably financed religious organizations of the race. There are great fraternal, religious and business organizations of the race that have been the beneficiaries of the Afro-American press for years that do not contribute enough business to these papers in the course of a year to pay their telephone bills. But their number is growing less, we can happily observe. Institutions like the Southern Aid Society and some others we will name in later articles are pointing the way. If the Southern Aid Society can co-operate with Afro-American banks, newspapers, printing plants, merchants and tradesmen and live and grow big, others can do the same. The old stock excuse that race banks are too small will soon have no legs to stand upon. We have now five banks that are either over or close around the million dollar mark. With the necessary co-operation they can render a great deal more effective service than they are now called upon to render. This is not a boast. It is rather a prophecy. We have nothing to boast of. But we do have grounds upon which to base an appeal for more effective co-operation.

The Southern Aid Society of Virginia is a model business enterprise, richly deserving the support of the race, for it really and truly serves the race.

This editorial brings forcibly to our notice the fact that the public approves of our efforts to render a superior service to our own policyholders and at the same time extend a helping hand to all other race enterprises. Therefore in expressing to our policyholders and the public our sincere thanks for the best business during 1920 of any period in the history of the Society, we also pledge to excel during 1921 all efforts heretofore made to serve our policyholders in the time of sickness, accidents or death and to continue to co-operate with all worthy race enterprises in their efforts to open Doors of Opportunities to our people.

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THE NATION has carried during the past year Herbert J. Seligmann's "The Conquest of Haiti"; James Weldon Johnson's series of articles of far-reaching importance, "Self-Determining Haiti"; William Pickens' "The Woman Voter Hits the Color Line"; Faith Adams' "A Question to Democracy"; etc.

In the near future THE NATION will carry an article on the Jim Crow by William Pickens. It will take up actively with the women suffragists the question of disfranchisement of colored voters in the South. It will continue to fight vigorously and uncompromisingly against **every** form of racial discrimination.

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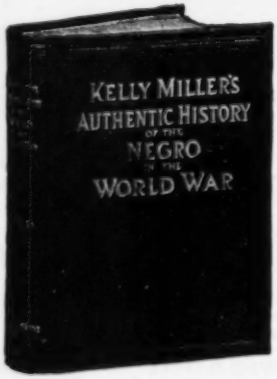

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